

by the DRA. [On 3/31, the NYT added that Najibullah said the guerrillas could keep their weapons.]  
3/30 - BNA - The first madrassa [religious school] for girls opened in Kabul.

3/31 - PT - Prof. Sayyaf said local commanders would not accept Najibullah's truce offer (see 3/30). He said Najibullah wanted to distract the commanders' attention from the interim gov't. He also refuted the charge that Pakistani's were fighting in Afghanistan.

- The US rejected a greater UN role in Afghanistan.

4/1 - BNA - Recent heavy rainfall in most areas of Afghanistan has been "reported unique compared to the past 10 years."

- PT - UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar is consulting the Kabul & Pakistan Gov'ts about the feasibility of new observer posts on the Pak-Af border.  
- Int'l Observer - Cdr. Abdul Haq of Hisb-i-Islami Afghanistan reports that 600 Indian military advisers have arrived in Mazar-i-Sharif & are active in bombing missions on Jalalabad (see p 21 ).

4/2 - BNA - The ROA refuted the charges that Indians are involved in the Jalalabad fighting. "In the Afghan Armed Forces there are no foreign military instructors. There are no servicemen & advisers from the Soviet Union either."

- The assets in current accounts of Da Afghanistan Bank amounted to Afs. 44.73 billion in 1988. In this Afghan year (1368) the interest rate will go from 9% to 11%. Time deposit rates will go to 12% for 1 year & 10% for 6 months. Loan rates will remain at 12%. However, interest on loans for luxury goods & "goods whose bulk portion" will not be consumed inside the country will be increased to 15%.

4/3 - PT - Mujahideen appointed Saz Noor as general cdr. of the Jalalabad operation. Maulvi Shahzada, an Itte-hadi Islami (Sayyaf) cdr. was killed in Jalalabad 2 days ago.

4/3 - LAT - An appeal from Wakil:

~~Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil~~ appealed to the United States to change its attitude toward the Kabul government. "We are never going to construct socialism or communism in this land," Wakil said in an interview in Kabul with the Reuters news agency. "This is not bluff or propaganda; it took a lot of effort and time and energy and work for us to deviate from the

extremist policies we used to pursue." He said the government realizes that without the assistance of Western nations, China and even the Soviet Union, it cannot build a prosperous Afghanistan. He said he regrets that the West does not recognize the change and has declined all negotiations, choosing instead to support Muslim rebels.

- NYT - A rocket hit a Sikh temple in Jalalabad last week killing 22 people.

4/4 - BNA - The ROA has requested an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss Pakistani "aggression." Abdul Wakil will go to NYC to present the ROA's case.

- NYT - The US State Dept. said the US has no intention of talking directly with Wakil as the US views the Kabul Gov't as illegitimate.

- HK Standard - British Foreign Sec'y Howe urged Najibullah to step down in favor of a broad-based gov't.

4/6 - NYT - Pres. Bush named Peter Tomsen, the US charge d'affaires in Beijing, as the special envoy, with ambassadorial rank, to the Afghan guerrillas. He will be based in Washington & make trips to Pakistan until the US formally recognizes a guerrilla gov't.

- In Havana, Gorbachev denounced US policy saying that it would have a "negative impact." About 2 weeks ago Bush had sent Gorbachev a letter rejecting Moscow's call for both countries to work together on a cease-fire. It also rejected "negative symmetry."

- PT - Pakistan called ROA allegations of interference "false & baseless," saying that none of them had been confirmed by UNGOMAP.

As to border posts:

When asked whether the U.N. Secretary-General was in touch with Pakistan regarding establishment of six border posts on Pakistan-Afghanistan border to ensure implementation of Geneva Accords, the spokesman said: "We are prepared to hold discussions with the Secretary-

General". But, he added, there is no provision in the Geneva Accords for setting up such posts. Pakistan, he said, is prepared to allow UNGOMAP to open two more of its offices at Peshawar and Quetta, besides the one it already has in Islamabad. UNGOMAP also has an office at Kabul. -APP.

4/7 - PT - Pakistan said that UNGOMAP officials had visited several border posts in Baluchistan & the NWFP, including Torkham.

- The US will give \$2,500,000 to the UN program for mine disposal in Afghanistan.

- BNA - Najibullah offered a cease-fire for Ramadan. [The mujahideen rejected the offer.]

4/9 - NYT - John Burns on life in Kabul:

Even for a Kabul child, life is hard. While the city's bazaars are surprisingly well-stocked with fresh and canned food, inflation has put much of it beyond the reach of poorer families. According to figures given by doctors at the Gandhi hospital, a pound of meat

which cost 30 afghanis 10 years ago, is about 350 afghanis now. One egg, two afghanis in 1979, costs 30 afghanis today. A worker's salary is as low as 5,000 afghanis a month, equivalent to about \$25 at the official exchange rate.

For families with links to the Government or to the ruling People's

(See p. 22)

Democratic Party, there is a ration-card system that provides monthly allotments of flour, rice and sugar at subsidized prices. Partly because of the resentments that the system has caused, the allotments have recently been extended to another 23,000 families. But most of the capital's two-million residents remain outside the system, and thousands belong to families who have neither a wage earner nor welfare benefits.

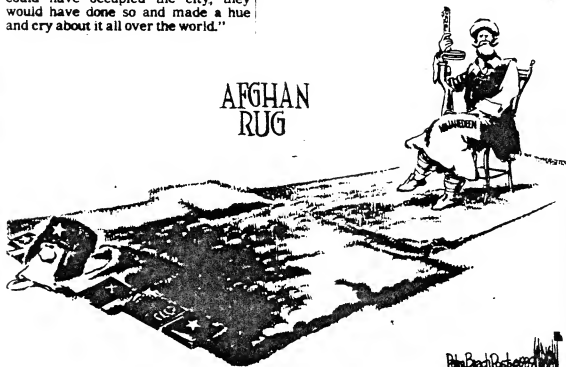
4/10 - Islamabad complained to UNGOMAP about a Scud missile attack on Torkham last Thursday. Kabul said the firing of the missile was an accident, but refused to apologize.

4/11 - PT - Abdul Wakil, in NYC, said the ROA would accept the proposal of a referendum of all the Afghan people under a neutral commission if it would resolve the differences.  
- Gulbuddin, in Dhaka to lobby for recognition of the interim gov't by Bangladesh, said he thought the mujahideen would capture Kabul before Jalalabad. He is on an 8 nation tour of Asia & Australia.

4/13 - NYT - Henry Kamm writes that in spite of some foul ups the guerrilla siege of Jalalabad has become more effective. The highway & airport are both cut off & ROA supplies can be brought in only by helicopter. Casualties have been high on both sides. In yesterday's NYT, John Burns quoted an ROA official:

"The Government forces are fully in control of the situation," the Government spokesman, Mohammed Nabi Amani, said. "If the opposition forces could have occupied the city, they would have done so and made a hue and cry about it all over the world."

## AFGHAN RUG



AP Photo/Steve Delaney

Chicago Tribune

4/15 - BNA - The ROA held a "glorious function" to celebrate the 1st anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements.

- As many Afghans as want to can make the Haj pilgrimage this year. Offices have been created in all the provinces to carry out affairs relating to the pilgrimage.

- AFGHANews (Jamiat) - Malaysia became the 4th country to recognize the interim gov't.

4/17 - BNA - Abdul Wakil, in his recent address to the UN Security Council, said Pakistani forces were concentrated in 5 areas of Afghanistan - Bernal, Miram Shah, Teri Mangal, Torkham & Shahi.

4/18 - BNA - Mojadeddi said he had no objections to Pakistan's issuing an entry visa to ex-King Zahir Shah to visit Peshawar. He said Zahir's era was "gone with the wind" but that he could enter Peshawar as an ordinary Afghan. Mojadeddi said that his gov't, after the fall of Kabul, would not "pay any heed" to the Pashtun question or talk about the Durand Line.

4/21 - NYT - A rocket hit the Soviet Embassy compound in Kabul yesterday but no injuries were reported.

4/23 - NYT - Henry Kamm reported that the assault on Jalalabad was ordered by the Pakistan Gov't at a 3/5 meeting "of the top civilian & military leadership of Pakistan", in the presence of the American Ambassador." No Afghans were present.

4/24 - NYT - Pakistani officials denied that their gov't ordered the Jalalabad attack. A Bush Administration official said he didn't know about it but he added that the guerrillas "generally do not take orders from anybody."

4/26 - ABC TV News - In Kabul, journalists & diplomats were notified that the Saur Revolution anniversary parade would take place a day early. Apparently the ROA felt that the guerrillas might disrupt the celebration if it was held as scheduled.

4/28 - NYT - A day set aside for a celebration of the Kabul Government's staying power passed to the sound of wailing sirens today as Muslim guerrillas pounded the capital with one of their heaviest rocket barrages of the decade-old war. At least 23 people were reported killed and more than 60 wounded.

At 7:15 A.M. today, 24 hours after the parade had passed the spot, two soldiers and a member of the Interior Ministry force were killed by a rocket about 300 yards from the reviewing stand where Mr. Najibullah stood.

# THE PAKISTAN TIMES

## Soviet mily. role in Afghan war on

### Kabul will be overrun in weeks — Hekmatyar

DHAKA, April 9: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Foreign Minister of the interim Afghan government, said here on Saturday a second major guerrilla offensive would be launched on Sunday against the besieged regime of President Najibullah, and predicted it was only a matter of weeks before the Afghan capital is overrun.

Hekmatyar arrived here at the head of a four-member delegation to seek Bangladesh's diplomatic recognition of the interim government.

The Afghan resistance leader told a news conference that 95 per cent of Afghanistan's territory was controlled by the Mujahideen. He said military outposts around Jalalabad city had been taken from Kabul forces, and 99 per cent of the strategic province of Kandahar was controlled by Mujahideen.

Hekmatyar parried questions as to why Jalalabad had not fallen despite a major Mujahideen



Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

offensive. He said the weather since the Soviet withdrawal from Kabul had been extremely unfavourable.

Hekmatyar saw little hope in efforts by the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, for a reconciliation between the Mujahideen and the Soviet-backed Kabul regime. He also discounted the possibility of a national government under exiled Afghan King, Zahir Shah.

An increase in Mujahideen attacks on Kabul and other cities in war-torn Afghanistan has boosted the flow of refugees to India, the United News of India (UNI) agency reported on Saturday. Some senior officials of the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) had also sought sanctuary in India, said UNI. — DPA.

LONDON, April 10: Although Soviet forces left Kabul in mid-February, the Soviets continued to fly supplies into Kabul to keep the garrison there fed and armed. Among the supplies airlifted in were large Scud missiles, which were being used against resistance-held areas in the south and against Pakistan.

Soviet helicopters have made combat patrols in northern Afghanistan to protect Afghan convoys, which were bringing supplies from the Soviet Union to Kabul.

Kabul airport security officials told reporters in Kabul that after a halt of less than a week the Soviet Union resumed its air-bridge to Kabul on February 21. On that day two giant Ilyushin-76 transport planes landed at Kabul. Besides Soviet forces continued to provide escort for Afghan military convoys in areas near the Soviet border.

Soviet gunship helicopters escorted the convoy for the last part of the drive from Afghanistan to the Soviet city and supply depot at Termez, and again on the way back out of Termez and during part of the journey in northern Afghanistan, according to Afghan drivers.

Mujahideen commanders had offered to keep the road open to Kabul for food and other humanitarian aid, but Commander Ahmed Shah Massoud denounced the Soviet resupply effort. "We opened a road for the Soviets," he said. "We committed ourselves to the principle of allowing the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan, to give them safe passage. When we opened the road, they brought Scuds and weapons for the puppet regime. They misused the safe passage."

Between March 5 and 11, over 1,500 trucks arrived in Kabul from the USSR, according to officials in Kabul. The last convoy to reach

Jalalabad arrived on March 10. Since then it has been supplied exclusively by air several helicopters and transport planes involved in that supply run, have been shot down.

Mujahideen commanders also believe that the Soviets were supplying the Afghan air force with Russian pilots they cite the accuracy and tactics of the air raids being carried out in the Jalalabad area in March as evidence, that "Soviet pilots had carried out all past air attacks." Afghan pilots are not known for making low-level raids in the face of Mujahideen anti-aircraft fire, according to the resistance.

Although, Soviet officials were at first silent to questions about the renewed involvement in Afghanistan, Soviet Ambassador to Kabul Yuri Vorontsov admitted on March 16 that they had resumed their airlift to the Afghan capital. Vorontsov confirmed that Scud missiles were among the weapons delivered by the Soviet planes. He said the airlift was in response to the Mujahideen offensive at Jalalabad. According to a report from Kabul on March 19, since mid-February "at least 20 jets of weapons arrived there from Moscow each day."

Afghan Vice-President Abdul Rahim Hatif told reporters in Kabul that thanks to the Soviet Union, the Mujahideen have "massive Soviet firepower nor the training to overwhelm the government in a fight for the cities." Kabul has had "assurances of continuing support from Moscow." Mr. Hatif explained, it has been shown in the "round-the-clock airlift of weapons and ammunition." Mr. Hatif said that the Soviet airlift will continue indefinitely "they have told us time and time again." Hatif said of the Soviets, "that they will not leave their friends at a time of need." — PPI. April 11

### Alliance opponents may be denied franchise

By GHANI JAFAR

Our Diplomatic Correspondent

Franchise in the contemplated elections to constitute a legislature for liberated Afghanistan is likely to exclude elements opposed to the resistance movement.

Giving details in this regard to The Pakistan Times in an interview at the political office of the Jamiat-e-Islami Afghanistan, in Islamabad on Monday, the Information Minister in the interim Government for the country, Dr. Najibullah Laifraie, said that the forthcoming elections would be "indirect" and "more practicable".

He said that most of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen parties favoured giving voting rights to the women in Afghanistan, but the final decision in this connection was yet to be taken by the election commission.

Dr. Laifraie, a nominee of Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami in the interim Government, said in reply to a question that although his party was referred to as being "fundamentalist", it supported the extension of franchise to the female adult population of Afghanistan.

It has been learnt that another hard-line party, Engineer Hikmatyar's Hizb-i-Islami Afghanistan, has the same position on the question, whereas the idea is being opposed by some of the other parties.

The 14-member "authoritative commission" set up by last

month's 'Shura' at Islamabad's Haji Camp, to resolve the deadlock caused by inter-party differences over power-sharing, had recommended that the format of next elections be the same as agreed earlier.

The commission, headed by Commander Jalaluddin Haqqani, had suggested that the modalities of elections for Afghanistan as settled by the IUAM leadership during the tenure of the outgoing interim government headed by Engineer Ahmad Shah, should not be changed.

However, the election commission is to review the earlier arrangements. Maulvi Mohammad Shah Fazli, Deputy to Maulvi Mohammad Nabl Mohammadi and Minister for Religious Research in the interim Government, heads the commission in which the other six IUAM parties have one representative each. The Teheran alliance of Mujahideen is also to be given one seat in the commission. Dr. Laifraie felt that there was no need for the smaller groups outside the Peshawar and the Teheran alliances to be given representation in the election commission.

He said that according to the earlier decision, demarcation of constituencies for the purpose of the last elections in the country was to be followed for the next elections as well. However, in view of the marked demographic changes occurring in recent years, the constituencies may be

redrawn by the resistance election commission.

The young Information Minister, who holds a doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Hawaii, said that actual polling to select the representative from each constituency would be conducted only if no consensus could otherwise emerge on the popular acceptability of a single individual.

He said that the election commission would be sending in "supervising teams" to each constituency to see if an "authoritative council" acceptable to all the IUAM parties, as also to the Teheran alliance if it decided to join the exercise, was already functioning in the area or such a structure could be formed. The relevant "authoritative council" would then be asked to determine "the most distinguished person" to represent the constituency in the new 'shura'. Dr.

Laifraie said that the views of refugees in Pakistan and Iran would be ascertained to select the representatives from their respective places of origin in Afghanistan.

He said that it would not be possible to include such persons in the electoral process as were opposed to the Mujahideen. He said that "under the circumstances, there is no other way."

When asked specifically if a supporter of the People Democratic Party of Afghanistan would be allowed to take part in the election as a candidate or a voter, he said: "Not in this election."

Dr. Najibullah Laifraie, 40, comes from a family which hails from the north-western part of Afghanistan. He graduated in Law and Political Science from the Kabul University in 1970, and left for the East-West Centre, Hawaii, in 1973 on a scholarship.

March 14

## AZIZ SIDDIQUI

MR. WALI KHAN's addressing SOS messages over Afghanistan to U.N. and non-aligned movement chiefs and to the U.S. and Soviet Presidents has come in for criticism within and outside the parliament. The objection has mostly been raised by IJI quarters, most bitterly of all, understandably, by its JI wing. It overstates the case greatly.

Afghanistan is not a Pakistani issue, the way, say, Szechin is. It is in one sense a purely Afghan affair, in another it is international. In its latter aspect it has involved the Super Powers and engaged the United Nations. The latter divided the Geneva accords and the former guaranteed their implementation. Any appeal to them for ensuring the implementation is not thus altogether out of place.

As for Pakistan itself, there has been an impression that the Government in Islamabad is not so much pursuing a policy of its own on Afghanistan as it is allowing the policy it has inherited to run its course — especially because of the hope and the assurance that there is only the last brief lap of it left for it to run. The complaint against that policy is in the fact against the factors of which the Government appears to have become a captive.

The ANP chief's alarm over the Afghan situation should in fact be more widespread than it is — both on behalf of the Afghans and of Pakistan.

The warfare has now been reduced to one between Afghans and Afghans. They are testing other people's weapons for them. As thousands of Afghans die from one engagement to another the arms-manufacturing establishments in concerned countries must be pouring over the performance of the weapons used: what more they can do to improve the deadliness of the Scuds and the AGS-17s, the grenade launchers, the flame throwers and the automatic mortars, the B127 and Frog-7 artillery rockets and the Vassilek-82 mm. There must be worrying over how to make the Stingers and Blowpipes do as well on the plains as from the relative safety of mountains; and on why the Chinese anti-aircraft guns haven't performed half as well against the Soviet jets as they did against the U.S. B-52 bombers in Vietnam.

There had been highly confident forecasts that Kabul would fall within days of the Soviet pull out. The strategists in the U.S., Pakistan and among the Mujahideen asked that to be taken for granted. That was the reason why for the best part of the peace negotiations the demand from that side was that the Soviets should not press for advance agreement on an interim arrangement following their withdrawal, but simply should scam and leave the rest to the Afghans themselves.

Kabul hasn't fallen in these more than six weeks since the last Soviet soldiers moved out, nor has any other big city. No major defection has yet taken place either. Though not for lack of trying. The period has seen some

of the worst fighting of these nine years. Three successive major assaults were launched on Jalalabad in the space of 10 days. The most lethal weapons were brought into use from both sides causing fairly large scale decimation of Afghans by Afghans.

Mr. Ahmed Shah, a member of the Mujahideen's interim government, has just been protesting that the media had overplayed the fight for Jalalabad. This is apparently second thought. The media reports he has mostly emanated from the Mujahideen news sources themselves. If there was any overplaying it was on the latter's part.

The Mujahideen insist on either their achieving armed victory or the other side's making abject surrender. On present evidence, the latter does not look likely to happen soon. Which means that given the Mujahideen's ability to keep replacing their human losses from the reservoir of displaced Afghan population, and given that the arms will keep flowing, the fighting will go on. The fight has clearly now become one of liberating Afghanistan from Afghans. And it has become one of retaining and sharing power in Kabul on one side and of wresting it on the other.

Islamabad's attitude in all this has often not been a model of candour or consistency. It claims to be completely supportive of the 7-Party Pakistan-based Mujahideen alliance while also favouring a broad-based government for Kabul. It has also apparently been going along nicely with a not-so-broadly-based cause that has not only shut off any partnership with PDPA but has also failed to win the support of the Iran-based eight-party group of commanders of the field commanders within Afghanistan. Considering the facilities it affords, it is also bound to be considered to be in full sympathy with the Pakistan-based alliance's bid for a purely military solution to the crisis.

There is clearly need for some reappraisal of the situation. Almost every foreign report on Afghanistan credits the ISI in Pakistan with an important role in the Afghan war. To the extent that that organisation does operate autonomously in this area, it ought dispassionately to reconsider its objectives and methods.

President Zia had calculated that he was helping create an Afghanistan that would for practical purposes be so close to Pakistan that it would be a virtual extension of this country. He also thought that an American correspondent told him that one day Zia was in a position to create problems for the Soviets in Central Asia themselves. Should any legates of Gen. Zia continue to nurse that kind of ambition? Is it practical to do so? Is it in this country's interest?

A Scud missile crashed close to the Pakistani border last weekend. It could have dropped a few other sides on this rather than the other side. About the same time the Soviet ambassador in New Delhi expressed a fear of the Afghan civil war developing into a Pakistan-Afghan war. These may be dismissed as mere intimidatory tactics. On the other hand they may be a warning of what may happen if Kabul feels pushed. How

# Let Afghans settle their own affairs

BY A STAFF REPORTER

LAHORE, March 13: Speakers at a Seminar on Afghanistan and Geneva Accord held here today called upon the Pakistan Government to desist from involving itself in the affairs of Afghans and let the Afghans settle their own affairs.

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President, Awami National Party, said that Afghan refugees in Pakistan should have been psychologically prepared for return to their homeland after the signing of Geneva Accords. But this had not been done. He said that the "maulvis" claiming to liberate Afghanistan would not be able to cow down the brave Afghans who could not be subjugated even by the British.

He said that late General Zia had remained in power for 11 years only because of the Afghan problem and his death was also connected with it. He said that Zia did not speak about Islam in the beginning but started championing its cause to strengthen his grip on power after the Afghan revolution. Zia started raising the slogans of Islam after the Russian Army came to Afghanistan but he never thought of sending troops for helping the Pakistanis.

He said that the holding of the meeting of the so-called Afghan Parliament in Islamabad was open interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.

Mr. Wali Khan said that Durand Line had lost its significance due to the Afghan situation and people from our country crossed into Afghanistan without any passport or visa. People may also cross into Pakistan from the other side and create serious problems for us any time.

He agreed with the proposal of the late General Zia that progressive forces should sink their differences and unite for greater national interests. He said that Nawaz Sharif's men were sitting in Peshawar and hoisting the scrap iron coming from Afghanistan where development projects were being destroyed.

Mr. Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo, President, Pakistan National Party, said that formation of the so-called Afghan Parliament in Islamabad would create clear interference in the affairs of our neighbouring country. He said that bloodshed in Afghanistan was an imperialist conspiracy.

Mr. Bizenjo said that Baluch and Pashtoons lived on both sides

of the Pakistan, Afghanistan frontier. "We are fighting against two of our own nationalities by interfering in Afghanistan to please the Americans", he said.

He said that the PRD adopted a resolution against interference in Afghanistan when Zia was in power. But Geneva Accord was signed during Zia's tenure and there is now greater interference in Afghanistan in the tenure of the PPP which was among those who opposed to the interference. He said that the PPP government had been accepted because it was better than Martial Law and the PRD but this did not mean that interference in Afghanistan had now become justified.

Mr. C.R. Aslam, President, Pakistan Socialist Party, said that it was not only the government that had changed in Afghanistan but a political and socio-economic revolution had also accompanied it. Americans had hatched a conspiracy to destroy the Afghan revolution and Zia-ul-Haq named it as 'Jehad'.

He said that now the foreign forces had left Afghanistan and Najib was inviting his opponents to form a broad-based government in the country there was no reason to oppose him any further. He said that agents of late General Zia claimed that they had liberated 95 per cent Afghan territory but they never dared to occupy their so-called liberated territory.

Mr. Abdul Hassan Mantoo, Secretary-General, Pakistan Workers Party, said efforts were being made to spread prejudice in the country in the name of religion to stifle democracy and liberalism. War against Ziaism was being described as a war between Islam and 'kufir' but this crusading against 'kufir-o-lahad' could not say that anything anti-Islamic was happening in Afghanistan where women had been emancipated, education was being spread and workers and peasants had been given their rights.

He said that the Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and Amir of Jama'at-i-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, had taken out a so-called victory procession after the withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan. Both of them were the products of late General Zia's rule which had brought Klashnikov and heroin in Pakistan.

Mr. Ehsan Wyne, Vice President, Awami National Party, said that it was strange that the Provincial President of the Pakistan Muslim League was talking about offering prayers in

USPS had withdrawn its forces from Afghanistan after the signing of the Geneva Accord. Now the blood of Afghan brothers was being spilled to safeguard American interests in the region. March 14, 1989

brave a face can we afford to put on it? To what end?

The war may, on the other hand, stay stalemated. That too is bound to cause accretions of strains on this country. How much of that can it take?

Even those convinced of an eventual triumph of the Mujahideen must carefully consider the cost. A country has to fashion policies on the basis of their longer-term ramifications as

well. And over that range what will really serve Pakistan's interests best — an outcome born of a reconciliation next door or one attained through a Pyrrhic victory of sorts?

Regardless of what some think of Wali Khan's politics, it will do no one any harm to reflect on the reasons for his anguish and alarm.

# A forgotten aspect of Pak-Afghan relations

ON DECEMBER 3, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam declared, "I desire that the relationship between these two sister nations (i.e. Afghanistan and Pakistan) may be of the greatest and most lasting friendship...and I do hope that the coming negotiations that may take place will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries, which already exist."

Quaid-e-Azam's expression reflected what should have been the mutual desire of the two states. Pakistan and Afghanistan share a frontier of some twelve hundred miles, a common religion and a section of each nation shares an ethnicity, a culture, a language and a tradition. Economic cooperation would have facilitated development and progress in both countries; political amity would have gone a long way in redressing the regional power a symmetry in favour of India, thus reducing a tension in the area engendered by fears of Indian hegemonistic designs. Westwards, a mutually friendly Afghanistan and Pakistan would have had an increased impact on, and stature in, the Middle East, and indeed in world councils.

The logic of mutual benefit, however, was thwarted by the attitude, aims and policy of Afghanistan. Notwithstanding the sentiments expressed by the Quaid and echoed by successive Pakistani governments, Afghanistan found itself incapable of adjusting to the realities of post-partition India. Afghanistan's quarrel with Pakistan focussed on two issues, namely the Durand

was reaffirmed in several jirgas held in the Tribal Belt. The legal point aside, common sense and common decency indicate that Pakistan could not hold on to a dissident frontier specifically the tribal area, and certainly it could not have coerced unwilling Pukhtuns to accede to Pakistan when its army was in the state it was in 1947.

In any case, Afghanistan's claims are somewhat muddled. At times Kabul has laid claim to a Pukhtunistan which covers the extent of the Afghan Ahmad Shah Durrani's kingdom, which includes non-Pukhtuns. Other times its claims have been limited to the Pukhtun areas. It has demanded amalgamation of these territories into Afghanistan on the one hand, and then again supported the demand for an independent Pukhtunistan on the other, and yet again supported Ghafar Khan and others of his liking for an autonomous Pukhtunistan within Pakistan. Latterly it refined these positions into a demand for self-determination for the people of Baluchistan and the Frontier. Ironically it has not included its own Pukhtun belt when speaking of the independence of a Pukhtunistan.

Be that as it may, if the Afghan position had been limited to academics, it would not have posed the threat it does to Pakistan. But Afghanistan's irredentist claims has constituted a threat to Pakistan's territorial integrity with regard to the Durand Line first, and secondly to its internal stability, specifically in

Buttuo was to claim that in his meetings with Afghan President Daoud in 1976, they had put together a package deal secretly, according to which Kabul was to formally recognise the validity of the Durand Line in exchange for the release of the incarcerated NAP leaders. Nothing came of this deal even though in 1977 Zia-ul-Haq, acting unilaterally, released the NAP leaders. To date, no Afghan government, therefore, has formally accepted the Durand Line, nor abjured its support for the self-determination of the people of the Frontier and Baluchistan. The above account only serves to illustrate how intractable the problem is, and how indelibly printed on the Afghan national consciousness is their belief in the inequity of the territorial and demographic distribution by Imperial Britain, between Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is a crucial fact that is ignored in analyses of Afghan relations over the past ten years.

It may be argued, of course, that Islamabad reacted to the exigency of the situation: that internal compulsion and the structural bent of the previous thirty-one years of external policy left Pakistan with no option but to get involved in the Afghan situation to the extent that it did. The acceptability of this thesis can be debated, but it is an irrefragable fact that Pakistan has paid a heavy price for its involvement in terms of a distortion of its internal political development, and a social disruption caused by the ubiquitous Kalashnikov and drug-pusher. The only mitigating factor over the long-run would be if Pakistan succeeds in getting a government friendly to it installed in Kabul, and sustaining that amity.

And that is precisely where the rub lies. Whatever additions one may wish to make to the term 'friendly', the basic fact is that no Afghan government can be described as being such to Pakistan unless it recognises the Durand Line and forswears its irredentist claims. A most significant fact is that none of the Mujahideen leaders have made such a commitment, and nor has Pakistan demanded this openly as a *quid pro quo* for its crucial support to the Mujahideen. If the decision-makers in Islamabad assume that that support will automatically secure Pakistan's interests, then they have understood nothing of Afghan history or the maulings of its present struggle.

Even if one were to assume the best-case scenario, and that a government emerges in Kabul prepared to acknowledge Pakistan's position, how long would that position be maintained? Any arrangement in Kabul in the coming years is going to have a serious dissident problem as a corollary of the past ten years. The issue of the Durand Line and Pukhtunistan can always be raised to destabilise the government. It is more than likely that the latter will have to oppose Pakistan's stand to placate its own people. It should be remembered also that external powers, most notably India, would not acquiesce in a Pak-Afghan entente, and will work to keep this

# Communists — A hurdle in Afghan Jihad

FROM OUR PESHAWAR BUREAU

APRIL 6: Pir Syed Hamid Gilani, acting Chief of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, has said that Afghanistan was in the grip of serious crises and it was the prime responsibility of ulema and scholars to pull the country out of it.

Addressing as a chief guest in the "Dastar Bandi" ceremony of Omar Sani Layyace School, here yesterday, Hamid Gilani said that communist elements in Afghanistan had occupied all spheres of life which would cause hurdles to the Islam. He urged the ulema and scholars of Afghanistan to forge unity among their ranks and resist the anti-Islamic elements.

Stressing the need of importance of the knowledge, Pir Gilani said that the education had played a vital role in the socio-economic development of nations and added that the outgoing qualified scholars should dedicate themselves for the promotion of Islamic values to serve the humanity.

Pir Gilani directed the Education branch of his party to open more and more schools in various refugee camps to provide education facilities to the Afghan children.

April 7, 1989

# 4 Kabul Generals, 10 Mujahideen commanders killed

APRIL 10: Four Kabul regime generals and 10 Afghan Mujahideen commanders have been killed in five weeks of fighting in Jalalabad.

Four Kabul generals included Gen. Saad Masoud, the commander of Gaurd Khaz Regiment, Gen. Faqr Ahmad, the commander of 11th Garrison of Jalalabad, Gen. Akhtar Gul and Gen. Baraki, the commanders of the last garrison.

Gen. Najib, commander of the 60th Garrison, who was a close friend of Najibullah and an expert in the fighting tactics against Mujahideen, received injuries and admitted in the military hospital in Kabul, said the report.

General Ghulam Hazrat, a member of Khalq Party who was appointed as the commander of 1st garrison in Jalalabad, has been fired from his position and detained under house arrest.

4/11

issue alive.

The question is, does Pakistan have the leverage to counter this sort of move, and sustain a friendly government in Kabul? Our foreign policy in the past years, most notably India, would not acquiesce in so many national interests on so many counts. Will this time be different?

3/14

## NILOUFER MAHDI

Line, and a series of inter-related demands that can be grouped under the heading of "Pukhtunistan".

The Durand Line has been the internationally recognised border between Afghanistan and British India, and later Pakistan, since 1893 when it was agreed to by Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan, and subsequently endorsed by his successors Habibullah in 1905, Amanullah in 1919 and 1921 and Nadir Shah in 1930. Yet, at the inception of Pakistan, the Afghan Government declared that it did not accept the fact that Pakistan succeeded to Britain's treaty rights in the sub-continent and that in any case the Durand Line was forced on to a weak Afghanistan and accepted under duress. The case for the legitimacy of the Durand Line has been ably argued by Pakistanis, and others, and the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the status quo.

Concomitant to Kabul's position on the Durand Line is its argument that in any case the boundary marks an unnatural division by which one people, the Pukhtuns, were separated by Imperial Britain when they were unable to resist. Pakistan's main argument is that at partition a referendum was held in the Frontier Province and the majority vote favoured union with Pakistan. The decision

regard to the Frontier and Baluchistan. Since its inception Pakistan has had to deal with cross-border incursions by Afghan nationalists, resulting often times in loss of life and destruction of property. Pakistan has been confronted also with the possibility of a conjoint Kabul-Delhi action, catching Pakistan in a military trap.

With regard to the internal situation, Afghanistan has proceeded on the premise that ethnic affinity conferred upon it the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The most serious examples of this occurred in 1955, when Kabul reacted to the promulgation of Pakistan's One-Unit plan, during 1958-1963 when Ayub Khan was dealing with a mini-insurgency in Baluchistan, and the five-year period following Buttuo's dismissal of the NAP Government in Baluchistan.

Despite these instances, and Kabul's basic non-acceptance of Pakistan's geographical integrity, efforts were made during the last thirty-one years to effect an understanding between the two parties. Pakistani and Afghan leaders met either in Pakistan or Kabul, twice in 1956, then again in 1957, 1958, 1963, 1964 and 1966, twice in 1976, then in 1977 and in 1979.

The meetings were all described as cordial but no breakthrough was made public. However, Mr.

## Kabul Journal

## Rome's 'Mullah Sahib,' at Home in Allah's Land

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, April 12 — Ask around Kabul for the Christian mullah and the chances are that even the street urchins will describe a pockmarked figure with linen cap and a battered old American-made Ford.

After 24 years as the only Roman Catholic priest permitted to work as such in Afghanistan, the Rev. Angelo Panigati is Kabul's best-known foreigner, and probably its most popular. As the 64-year-old Italian busies himself about the city, he is full of chuckles and bonhomie, in a city full of people whose own good humor and patience seem strangely little diminished after nearly a decade of war.

Among Afghans, it is as a friend, not a priest, that Father Panigati is celebrated, for the agreement with the Italian Government that allowed the Vatican to post a priest in Kabul, dating back to 1933, specifically forbids him to propagate his faith beyond the foreign community here. These days, with all Western embassies closed, the foreign community has shrunk to a point where barely 30 people attended Easter celebrations, but Father Panigati remains a perpetua figure all the same.

One recent afternoon he headed for the open-air bazaar by the Kabul River where many of the city's two million residents buy their fruit and vegetables. Passing from stall to stall, he was greeted by peasant vendors as Mullah Sahib and responded easily in Dari, an Afghan language akin to Persian. To one orange seller intent on haggling over the price, he made an Italian joke about the history of foreign invaders here. "All I want is your oranges," he said.

## A Valued Historian

The departure of the American, Austrian, British, French, Italian and West German embassy staffs, all within two weeks of the end of January, have left Father Panigati the only accredited Western diplomat in Kabul apart from those representing agencies of the United Nations. Under the agreement with the Italian Government, Father Panigati's official duties are limited to housekeeping at the Italian Embassy, where he talks by telex with Rome once a week and with his two dogs in a bungalow behind barricades of sandbags. Unofficially, among the 20 or so embassies that remain, he is regarded as one of the best-informed foreigners in the city.

On Vatican orders, he will not speak for the record about the war between the Kabul Government and the Muslim guerrillas, save in the most general terms. But over the pasta meals he cooks for guests at the embassy, and on walks around the city, he has become, at least for foreigners, a valued historian. Put a question about the country's contemporary problems, and he bubbles with stories about the emirs and the caliphs and the mullahs, or Muslim clerics, who helped to build this ancient land.

In his impromptu history lessons, the diminutive priest, who belongs to the Regular Clerics of St. Barnabas, a Milan-based religious order known colloquially as the Barnabites, conveys much of what he feels about the war. At one of his favorite spots, the old Christian cemetery under Bemura Hill, he paused for a moment



The Rev. Angelo Panigati, at Christian cemetery in Kabul, Afghanistan, is city's best-known foreigner, and probably its most popular.

along the eastern wall, where chipped and worn stones record the deaths of 10 British soldiers killed in the second British-Afghan war, one of Britain's three failed attempts to impose its imperial will here between 1838 and 1919.

From the rear of the tree-shaded cemetery, in a section of Kabul whose name, *Shah Paur*, means full of lions, the links between Whitehall's failures here and Moscow's seem plain. Across the cemetery wall, on a hillside now once again spoked with mines, is one of the hundreds of so-called martyrs' cemeteries that have sprung up during the war. Above graves, each marked with a simple rock, the green and red flags symbolizing martyrdom hung limply in the breeze.

## Sad Fate of the Hippies

Other unhappy chapters in Afghanistan's recent history are also recorded among the jumbled headstones. The largest single group buried in the cemetery are not soldiers or missionaries or explorers — although a noted Western chronicler of Central Asia, Sir Aurel Stein, is

probably the most prominent person laid to rest there.

The large group is composed of the young Westerners whom Father Panigati described as hippies — Americans, Canadians, Britons, West Germans and Swiss, among others, who were among the thousands attracted to Kabul in the early 1970's by the city's dramatic mountain setting and by the ready availability, discovered here later by Soviet soldiers, of high-quality hashish.

The visitors, mostly in their early 20's, died in a variety of mishaps, from asphyxiation by coal stoves in Kabul's cheap tenements, to drug overdoses and bus accidents. But some were the victims of foul play. One, a 21-year-old Brazilian, was apparently killed while recovering from a drug overdose in hospital, perhaps because of fears that he would tell the police about a cache of stolen passports. Another, a young Frenchman who was never identified, had his throat cut by unknown assailants as he took tea at a Kabul mullah's home.

Father Panigati buried many of the dead himself, sometimes walking to

the cemetery behind one of the local handcarriers called *karachis* that are Kabul's equivalent of a hearse. Each Nov. 2, All Souls' Day on the Catholic calendar, he visits the cemetery to lay chrysanthemums on each grave.

## A Star on the Gravestone

Among them is one for a Chinese diplomat, Zhou Xingzhi, whose headstone bears not a cross but a Chinese Communist star. In the 1970's, Soviet requests for burial in the cemetery were refused by the committee of Westerners then in charge when the Russians insisted on their right to mark the headstones with the hammer-and-sickle insignia.

By the time Mr. Zhou died, in the 1980's, the only committee member remaining here was Father Panigati, and he likes the Chinese star. "It's rather beautiful, don't you think?" the priest asked a companion as they walked toward the cemetery's creaking gates.

Beside the wall was some of the shattered masonry that remains from three incidents when Soviet tank drivers, one apparently under the influence of hashish, failed to make a sharp turn outside the cemetery and punched holes in the wall. Each time Father Panigati repaired the damage.

He is not said to have seen the tank drivers and their fellow soldiers go home. "Afghanistan will always impose itself on the foreigner, no matter how hard he may try to make it otherwise," he said, in the closest thing to a political remark that he allowed to be recorded all afternoon. Then, slipping a tip to the young Afghan boy who had been standing watch at the gate, he slid behind the wheel of the Ford, pulled on his cap, and drove happily away.

In his article "Afghanistan in 1988: Year of the Mujahideen," in the ARMED FORCES JOURNAL INT'L, 3/88, John Hill estimated the numbers of the opposing land forces in Afghanistan at the beginning of 1988:

## Republic of Afghanistan

Regular Army	35,000
Troopband	25,000
WASL (KEAD)	25,000
Hard-Core Militia	10,000
Passive Militia	35,000
Soviet Advisors	2,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>127,000</b>

## Mujahideen

Herbi-Islami (Farkhastar)	16,000
Herbi-Islami (Khalai)	16,000
Jamiat-Islami	24,000
NIFA	6,000
Shah-Pur	6,000
Others	6,000
Unorganized Locals	40,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>126,000</b>

# Arab Fundamentalists Active in Afghan War

## Use of Funds and Volunteers From Mideast Watched for Disruptive Influence

By James Rupert  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PESHAWAR, Pakistan, March 1—Fundamentalist Arabs from the Middle East are playing an influential, and sharply anti-western, role in efforts by Afghan guerrillas to build a future political structure for Afghanistan.

Many Afghans and some western diplomats have expressed concern in recent weeks that Arabs are using money, volunteers and the symbols of Islam in an effort to ignite a fundamentalist social and political revolution in Afghanistan.

Few of those interviewed here and inside Afghanistan predict the Arab fundamentalists will succeed, but many fear they will hamper the already daunting task of building a stable political structure here if the communist government is defeated.

Western diplomats and aid workers in Pakistan concede that they have little knowledge of the Arab role. "It is certainly larger than we realize and a lot of it is anti-western," said a European diplomat in Islamabad.

During a decade of war, Arab governments, private relief agencies, religious trusts and wealthy individuals have channeled money to the guerrillas, often on the condition that its recipients embrace fundamentalist forms of Islam. Thousands of fundamentalist militants, mostly from Arab countries, have come to fight the communists and often to convert the Afghans, whose practice of Islam includes traditional and mystical elements that are anathema to fundamentalists.

As has the United States, Saudi Arabia has given hundreds of millions of dollars to buy weapons for the *mujaheddin*, as the guerrillas are called, and has permitted Pakistan's military intelligence agency to deliver the arms primarily to fundamentalists among the seven Afghan parties permitted to operate in Pakistan. Pakistan's favorite in the distribution of weapons, according to diplomats and many Afghans, has been the Islamic Party (Hezb-i-Islami) faction led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

Hekmatyar and other Afghan leaders travel often to the Middle East to raise funds from wealthy Arab sheiks and religious trusts. Mujaheddin say this has played a major role in helping fundamentalist party leaders recruit a clientele of commanders inside the country.

In particular, a former Kabul University religion professor, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf—who has been named prime minister of the rebels' proposed interim government—is seen as dependent on Arab money for his place among the seven parties. "Sayyaf raises millions of dollars from businessmen and charities in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates," said an Afghan once associated with Sayyaf's Islamic Union organization.

Arab donors and teachers have helped Sayyaf build a university at his headquarters near Peshawar. According to Mohammed Yusuf Elm, who taught at the university, the basic curriculum consists of the Arabic language and the religious views of the Wahhabis, a strict revivalist sect founded in the last century that effectively serves as the state religion of Saudi Arabia.

"There is a medical school, but the teaching is more about Islam than medicine," Elm said. Arabs fund several such universities and high schools—and as many as 2,000 religious primary schools—for Af-

ghan refugees in northwestern Pakistan, partly as a way to advance Wahhabism, said Naam Majrooh, an independent Afghan intellectual in Peshawar.

The centrist activism by the Saudi-backed Wahhabis also could be expected to complicate any efforts at cohesion between Afghanistan's majority Sunni Moslems and the minority Shites, who enjoy backing from Iran.

In recent interviews in Afghanistan's Nangarhar Province, along the Pakistani border, five young Arab-trained Afghan mujaheddin—including some from Sayyaf's university—expressed enthusiasm for such fundamentalist themes as the unity of the Moslem world and the need for an Afghan government based more strictly on Islamic law than was the precommunist monarchy.

Such rank-and-file mujaheddin do not, however, appear to have absorbed much of an antiwestern viewpoint. One group of Sayyaf mujaheddin displayed a battery-powered boombox and invited an American reporter to hear their post and watch as they hurled Islamic propaganda slogans at government soldiers in a neighboring village.

Near Jalalabad last month, two groups of western journalists were accosted by armed Arabs who threatened to kill them if they did not leave Afghanistan. They were rescued by their Afghan guides, who apologized, condemning the Arabs for their hostility.

Many antiwestern Arabs "have had no dealings with westerners previously and mistrust them because they think westerners only come here to convert Moslems," said Mohammed Ibrahim Suleiman, director in Peshawar of the Islamic Relief Agency. He recalled that about three years ago, Pakistani authorities asked two western aid agencies to leave the country after apparent attempts by aid workers to convert Afghans to Christianity.

The Arab mujaheddin are mostly young men who have become fundamentalists in their own countries. In Pakia Province, bordering Nangarhar to the south, hundreds of such men fight in Arab units organized by a Palestinian professor, Abdulhaziz Azam. Arab mujaheddin said. Several Arabs said they came to fight in Afghanistan after reading books by Azam that tell of miracles in the religious war and promise salvation for martyrdom.

Diplomats in Islamabad say Azam's operation is watched by Arab embassies, who fear the Arab mujaheddin's assurances that, after Afghanistan, they will return to foment fundamentalist revolution at home.

Many Arab fighters also are active Wahhabi missionaries, said Afghan mujaheddin. "Some Arabs come and tell us they will give a lot of money and help us. But they say we must keep the [western] nonbelievers out and pray as they do," said Nuruddin Ahmad, in Nangarhar Province.

As did other mujaheddin, Ahmad expressed indignation that Arabs should instruct Afghans to avoid listening to music or chewing *naswar*, the traditional ground tobacco—or posing for photographs, something virtually all mujaheddin do with great enthusiasm.

"Sometimes I think the Arabs' money has been a poison for us," fueling rivalries between Afghan traditionalists and fundamentalists, said Naam Majrooh. Many Afghans and foreign analysts foresee the Wahhabi missionary effort failing because of the Afghans' fierce independence.

THE WASHINGTON POST MARCH 2, 1989

## THE LONLINESS OF THE LAST 6 JEWISH MEN IN KABUL

Hong Kong Standard 4/5

By Earleen Fisher

**T**he last six Jewish men in Kabul gathered shortly before sundown in the small, second-storey room that serves as their synagogue.

Rocking on his heels in front of a black and gold curtain concealing the Torah scrolls, 18-year-old Benjamin Gul stood at the small altar and raised his clear voice in the Hebrew language of the Jewish faith.

He paused. At his side, his twin brother, Asher, took up the sing-song chant.

From the white-cushioned wooden benches along the wall came the murmured readings of the twins' 35-year-old brother, Haron, 65-year-old Savi Yona and 50-year-old Isaac Levi and his 18-year-old son, Barba.

All read at their own pace, for there is no longer the *minyan* of 10 men required for formal worship.

The six said they were the last Jewish men left in Kabul, except for one who went away on a business trip and would return in a few days.

The last rabbi departed three years ago for England.

The Jews of Kabul preserve their faith and adhere to dietary laws and the ban against working on Shabbat, the Jewish Sabbath that starts at sundown Friday and lasts until sundown Saturday.

A few minutes before sunset last Friday, Benjamin Gul pushed a light switch, and bulbs suspended from the ceiling flickered dimly to life.

With a slight smile, the slim teenager said, "We won't break Shabbat."

Referring to the Jewish prohibition against any form of work during that time, he said, "We turn on the electricity, and by morning it is gone by itself."

The synagogue on the Street of Flower Selling, like much of Kabul, receives electricity for just a few hours in early morning and evening.

Most of the Jewish community that numbered about 100 people a few years ago has gone — to Israel, the United States and Europe.

The handful of stragglers live close to each other in the Chare-Nau neighbourhood of central Kabul.

About half reside in the white-washed building that contains the synagogue. Its plaster latticework of six-pointed stars of David faces the now-closed West German Goethe Institute cultural centre across the narrow, muddy street.

Passover last month, arrived from relatives in Switzerland.

Asked at the outset if the visit by the journalists would cause them trouble with authorities, they said "no."

However, they acknowledged that police might come later to ask what the foreigners wanted to know.

That's a worry that Kabul's Moslems and Jews often share.

ness trips abroad, returning each time to take care of his family and run a textile shop that supports it.

The Kabul Jews eat chicken and fish but no beef or mutton.

No one remains who is authorized to kill cattle and sheep in the manner dictated by Jewish law.

Matzoh, the unleavened bread required for the Seder feast of

years of military service for the Afghan government.

He left in Kabul who can be his bride.

The only Jewish women in Kabul are the 14-year-old Soraya and 13-year-old Miriam — and Savi Yona's wife.

Haron Gul, however, holds a passport and has made three bus-

"No one bothers us. The only thing we are worried about is military service," said Gul.

He, his twin brother, and the high school at the Street of Flower Selling, will soon finish school operated by the French. They will then be eligible for military duty.

The twins' older brother, Haron Gul, has already completed three



# PAKISTAN OFFICIALS TELL OF ORDERING AFGHAN REBEL PUSH

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, April 16 — The frontal assault by the Afghan guerrilla forces on the key eastern town of Jalalabad was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of the top civilian and military leadership of Pakistan, in the presence of the American Ambassador, according to a Pakistani participant and other Pakistani officials.

No Afghan was present at the meeting on March 5, and the decision to attack it was made against the advice of the director of Pakistani military intelligence. The attack has bogged down into a costly siege and has brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory of any variety, over the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul.

## Belief of Pakistan

Pakistan had believed that an impressive military victory would mean these chances. Moreover, the Bhutto Government had for many months been told by its intelligence directorate, as well as its American ally, that the two easternmost Afghan towns, Jalalabad and Kandahar, would not fall to the rebels within weeks of the Soviet military withdrawal, paving the way for the capture of Kabul, the capital, shortly thereafter.

Since the pullout of the Soviet Army became a certainty with the signing a year ago of the Geneva accords between Pakistan and the Kabul Government, seconded by the United States and the Soviet Union, the scenario of a rapid overthrow of President Najibullah had been the virtual dream of the Pakistani and American intelligence services.

## A Branch of the Military

A high Pakistani official said no Afghans were present at the March meeting because "I.S.I. is responsible for them."

He was referring to the Pakistani Directorate General for Inter Services Intelligence, a branch of the military. Since the Soviet intervention in December 1979, the directorate has shaped the Afghan rebel leadership, forming the seven-party guerrilla alliance based in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, that nominally conducts the struggle and in effect commanded and coordinated its military and political actions.

Political and military considerations prompted Ms. Bhutto's decision to instruct her intelligence branch to order the assault on Jalalabad, according to the Pakistani officials.

The meeting on March 5 came shortly after the transformation of the seven-party alliance into an interim Afghan government and just before a meeting in Saudi Arabia of the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the second principal source of funding for the rebels, wanted the conference to end the new government, hoping to increase its chances of gaining international acceptance.

According to a participant, Lieut. Gen. Hamid Gul, director general of I.S.I., counseled the March meeting against an assault. He was reported to have explained that the directorate believed the mutually antagonistic guer-

rilla groups to be incapable of conducting such a large scale act of conventional warfare as seizing a major city by storm.

Moreover, the directorate is known to believe that the United States had not equipped the rebels with the heavy weapons necessary for such an attack.

Instead, the general proposed a somewhat lengthy campaign of attrition against the city's links to Kabul, accompanied by stepped-up talks between Government and guerrilla officials to bring about the surrender of the city.

This was opposed, according to a participant, by a close aide to Ms. Bhutto, a man in whom she places particular trust in military and Afghan matters. He is a retired major general, Nasrullah Babar, who had been a confidant of her father, the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and a senior commander on the Afghan frontier at a time when the Pakistani links to some of today's guerrilla leaders were first forged.

General Babar told the meeting, according to the participant, that too much time had elapsed since the Soviet withdrawal was completed Feb. 15 without a significant rebel victory. He said such a lag would help memories of the Soviet intervention to fade and lead to Pakistan's being blamed for continuing a war the Soviets had given up.

This view prevailed, and Ms. Bhutto's Government ordered the intelligence directorate to prepare for an attack against which it had counseled. It could not be learned whether Ambassador Robert B. Oakley participated in this discussion or its conclusion.

The assault began in earnest two days later. Intelligence estimates of a quick success were belied, both by the attackers' military ineffectiveness and the defenders' combat morale and the power of the Soviet army. The assault was called off in its seventh week, with no immediate end in sight.

General Babar said in an interview that Ms. Bhutto had a strong inclination to support the military's Afghan policy because it evolved under her father's rule.

He recalled that such guerrilla leaders as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Burhuddin Rabbani sought refuge in Pakistan after participating in anti-Government rioting in Kabul in 1974. "We took them under our cover because we knew that some day there would be trouble in Afghanistan," the former Inspector General of the Frontier Corps and Governor of Northwest Frontier Province said. "We wanted to build up a leadership to influence events."

He said that the United States had also been influencing such policymakers since 1973 and to take Mr. Hekmatyar "under its umbrella" months before the Soviet intervention.

"Unfortunately the problem of Afghanistan is not resolved," said Ms. Bhutto in an interview in her office in this new capital's older sister city of Rawalpindi. She cited the problem of Afghan refugees.

She said that Pakistan, whose number she put at 3.6 million.

"We would like all these refugees to return to their homes and land," Prime Minister said. "But unfortunately there is a civil war going on."

The Pakistani and American intelligence services agreed that there would be no major civil war after the Soviet pullout because the Najibullah Government would fall of its own popularity as a foreign-imposed regime.

An official close to the Prime Minister said her Government had for the first time brought Pakistan's role in the war "under some kind of political influence and perspective. The official called the civilian role "partial political control."

"As a political reality we do recognize the influence of the military, no doubt," the official explained. "However, we don't want to push it beyond a

certain point. If it is a point of two different premises, of different hypotheses, then I don't think the political wing would like to interfere that much."

"It's so late in the day, if we want it doesn't work out, if what is intended is not achieved then we would be blamed. So it's better therefore to give a free hand to those who have been handling it."

The Jalalabad decision illustrates how the war of the mujaheddin, or Islamic Holy Warriors, as the guerrillas call themselves, is managed. Major decisions are made by the military in the absence of the Afghans but with an American presence.

Although the intelligence directorate's role in the war is public knowledge, though not publicly acknowledged, the part played by the American agency is less transparent and a subject of much speculation here. Many Pakistanis believe that the United States, as a superpower, calls the shots, but senior Pakistani officials and European diplomats said this was not the case. But the Bhutto Government has maintained for years that the guerrillas are under the direct control of the Islamabad Government.

A well-informed Westerner said the intelligence directorate distributes not only arms but also humanitarian relief supplies furnished by the United States according to its formula.

Political officials in the moderate Afghan groups said that until the formation of the interim government the directorate's officers in fact directed all alliance meetings. They do not do so when the new government, consisting of the same leaders, meet, an Afghan reported.

Countries backing the guerrillas criticize the interim government for slowness in its military and economic moving into their country. Some of its officials attributed this to continuing suspicion among the leaders. Although Prime Minister Abul Kalam Azad, a fundamentalist close to Saudi Arabia, was said to have assured President Sighatullah Mojaddid of his loyalty, a foreign official said, "We were told there was no way of telling whether President or Prime Minister would emerge as the leader of the regime."

Moderate Afghans and Westerners who sympathize with them fear that once the interim government has moved inside its country, the more zealously Islamic leaders favored by the Pakistani military would use their arms superiority to seize power. They said such a move would be favored by Pakistan's military and the Central Intelligence Agency, whose attitude was described by a knowledgeable official as, "Those who lose to win the war should run the country."

A Western diplomat disagreed. He said that might have been President Zia's desire, but he said that the Pakistani puppet regime could not last in Kabul. Yet many Afghan moderates believe the military has greater might than the civilian Prime Minister and General Zia's ideas have survived in the military.

"The dead man's dream is my nightmare," one Afghan said.

Conceding Pakistan's present dominance over the guerrillas, Pakistani and Western officials asserted that when the interim government emerges from inside Afghanistan will this dominance wane.

For that reason, a high Pakistani official said, Pakistan is not backing the regime it largely created. "We have not recognized it because we would like respect paid to the Geneva accords," said Ms. Bhutto, offering the official reason.

The official close to the Prime Minister explained that to be recognized, Pakistan expected the government to "behave like a government and not an alliance" and to control and defend some territory in Afghanistan rather than be based there.

The official also said that Pakistan did not want "to be left on a limb" and would withhold recognition until the United States and China extended it.

# For U.S., a Determining Afghan Role

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, April 16 — The Pakistani military dependence on American arms and money for the Afghan rebels gives the United States a determining role, even if the tactical decisions and coordination are Pakistan's province.

A knowledgeable Pakistani journalist with good access to officials said that, through long and friendly cooperation, the Pakistani and American intelligence services and military tend to see eye to eye.

Both are believed by Afghan guerrilla figures critical of the predominance of Islamic militancy within the seven-party Afghan alliance, as well as by some Pakistani and Western officials, to favor the most religiously militant of the parties when it comes to the distribution in arms and money.

A senior Pakistani official said this was true, but only because the more religiously motivated groups had better fighting records, greater discipline, did not divert supplies for private gain and were better organized to assimilate and use the arms they received. He said the intelligence directorate had established "a scientific system" for measuring performance on those principles.

## Sharing the Arms

Under the system, the official said, the most radical Islamic militant, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, did not receive the greatest share. He said his part was 19 percent of the total, "a little less" than that of the group headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, also a militantly Islamic party and the one that receives the most.

The official indicated that although the United States had urged Pakistani intelligence to rein in Mr. Hekmatyar, whom he conceded to have been "ruthless" in the economic struggles, his share of arms had not been reduced. "With Hekmatyar there is never a discipline problem," he said. "His ability is optimal. He is intellectually sharp and maintains good discipline. I don't deny he is also ruthless."

Pakistan and he said his ruthlessness did not take place in the military. There was therefore none of the Pakistani military's business.

## The Military Guidelines

"The single thread of command is I.S.I.," said a high Pakistani official. He said the intelligence directorate had to give military guidance and sometimes do so sternly.

He said it also withheld arms shipments as punishment for indiscipline. He said arms had been cut off for three months recently from forces controlled by the party of Yunus Khalis because of a massacre of prisoners of war committed by a unit last November.

With the formation of the interim government, the United States and Pakistan are eager for it to take greater charge of the war and to do so from inside Afghanistan, where the guerrillas claim to control 90 percent of the territory. But Pakistanis and Westerners complain that the rebel leaders are slow to do so.

Gen. Yahya Nauraz was named Deputy Defense Minister and Chief of Staff of all forces and urged by the United States and Pakistan to take over from the intelligence directorate control of the distribution of arms. He has not yet done so, a high Pakistani official said.

## On Distribution System

He reported that the directorate had urged that the interim government's president, Sighatullah Mojaddid, set up a distribution system. He said the president had undertaken to do so by March 1. Asked again on March 10, Mr. Mojaddid promised to present his plan by April 1. He has not yet done so, said the official.

Other Pakistani officials, Afghans and Western diplomats said that the most Islamic parties, receiving the lion's share, presumably saw no benefit in entrusting distribution to Mr. Mojaddid and his Defense Minister, Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi. Both head what are known as moderate groups.

"It won't happen overnight," a Western diplomat said.



# Afghan rebels claimed yesterday to have captured strategic parts of Jalalabad airport. ANATOL LIEVEN reports from the frontline of the beleaguered city

REBEL and government forces are reinforcing their positions for the final battle for Jalalabad, following heavy bombardments of rebel positions.

The army chief of staff, Lieutenant General Delavaz Assef, left Kabul for Jalalabad yesterday to take personal control of the garrison there.

In weaponry, the advantage is clearly with the Government. The Soviet Union is reported to have been flying in huge quantities of supplies to Kabul, and these have been flowing down the road to Jalalabad, re-opened in a government counter-offensive last week.

For the first time, rebel groups from as far away as Paktia and Badkshan provinces are sending troops to help their comrades around Jalalabad.

Many Arab volunteers are also joining the rebel ranks. Most of these belong to the so-called "Salafis", a force belonging to the Wahabi sect, after Maulana Jamilur Rehman and based in the Kunar area.

Others belong to the Egyptian-based Islamic Brotherhood, and they are distributed among the different radical rebel parties. But unfortunately for the rebels, this level of support from different areas does not appear to be matched by any unified command.

With rebel forces concentrating on Jalalabad, the lack of guerrilla attacks in the Kabul area means the Government has been free to move in reinforcements.

The Government is also claiming that Jalalabad airport is open to its planes.

On Thursday, I was able to observe the runway, free from a hill near the village of Karez Kabir, about 11km to the south-east. It was also in clear view of a nearby rebel gun position.

A properly organised rebel watch on the airport could certainly prevent any planes landing, but such co-ordination does not seem to exist. Confusion was the only result of many rebel advances.

Yesterday a shura, or council, of commanders was reported to be meeting to draw up a new plan of attack. There are, however, two such councils around Jalalabad: one for the east and south — the forces from Nanghar province in which Jalalabad is situated — and one for the northern side. The forces there are largely from the province of Kunar.

At the start of their resistance 10 days ago, the resistance forces captured an important government position in the small town of Samarkhel, the last one on the road to Paktia, beyond the airport, about 8km to the west.

Samarkhel apparently fell within no much of a fight as hundreds of its garrison defected. They seem mainly to have gone over to the traditionalist National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, whose local commander, Syed Mahomed Pahlawan, had promised them their lives and freedom.

There are various accounts of the capture itself, with the front claiming to have captured the town almost single-handed, and representatives of other parties suggesting that the front's desire to be first in may have spoiled the rebel advance.

## Wrecks

Yesterday, at any rate, forces of all the rebel parties were present in the town.

Loyal government forces fought their way out along the road to Jalalabad, which is littered with armoured vehicles and bodies. Some of the latter are horribly burnt, lying around the blackened wrecks of their personnel carriers.

Others appear to have been shot as they fled on foot after their vehicles were cut off. At least three tanks were captured intact by the rebels and are now firing on government positions.

The rebels swept up the road from Samarkhel to the airport itself, which lies about 3km east of the city.

They lapped around the edges of the airport to the north and south, capturing the village of Khushumbad to the north-east, and five days later that of Karez Kabir to the south-east.

On Wednesday they drove government troops from another hilltop position west of Karez Kabir, and they continued to edge forward in the Behsud area immediately to the north of the city, across the Kabul river.

Small rebel groups are reported to have infiltrated the city itself, which remains in government hands.

When I visited the villages of Khushumbad and Karez Kabir, the last of their inhabitants were ordinary driving their animals and carrying their children and belongings. In several cases rebels from the villages had returned to help their families or neighbours.

By and large, the rebels seem to have respected the property of ordinary people and locked houses have not been broken into.

Some of the cattle, sheep and donkeys being driven towards Pakistan are probably booty, but large numbers of others are wandering around free, sometimes falling victims to shells, mines and bullets.

Government buildings and officer quarters in Samarkhel have been comprehensively stripped.

The refugees are fleeing a government bombardment of great intensity, as well as rebel rockets which frequently fall short. Government planes are flying between 20 and 30 sorties a day and a few at night, pounding rebel positions and captured villages.

Bombs of up to 200kg are being dropped, as well as cluster bombs. There is no evidence so far of the use of chemical weapons or napalm. Samarkhel and the villages to the north of Behsud have

been hit again and again. The former is dotted with ruins. But rebel casualties have been relatively light — around 100 dead and 400 wounded so far, a doctor said, though this may only apply to the eastern side of the city.

Around a dozen are killed in this sector each day. The rebels have no long, vulnerable supply columns along the easily identifiable roads, and their forces are dispersed among farms and houses. Around the airport itself they are too close to the government positions to be bombed.

This attack on Jalalabad is the third rebel offensive in the area since last November. Each of them has driven the Government back a considerable distance. Only after the first, in November, were the government forces able to regain any ground, and then only for a while.

On the other hand, the stiffness of the fight at Jalalabad suggests that — unless there is a sudden collapse of government morale — the rebels have a tough war ahead.

The Times

THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN March 10-19 1989 - 10



## Council of North publishes "Shoor'a"

The first edition of the fortnightly paper of the Supervisory Council of the North, "Shoor'a" ("Council"), was published on February 5.

The paper is published and edited by Abdussalam Paiman in four pages inside Afghanistan.

Prof. Rabbani's message to the victims of the recent Soviet atrocities in Salang and Panjshir, and Commander Masood's interview fill the first page of the paper. Masood foresees the fall of the communist regime in the future.

The editorial of the paper, on the second page, comments on Soviet gains and losses in their aggressive war in Afghanistan. It concludes that the Soviets committed a big mistake in invading Afghanistan and it will be another mistake if they continue to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan.

On the third page a poem welcomes the publication of "Shoor'a" in a critical time of the history of the country.

The last page is full of news from the battlefields. The paper's language is simple and the print quality relatively good.

The Mujahideen parties publish newspapers and magazines in a dozen national and foreign languages, but all of these publications are printed outside Afghanistan. The special thing about "Shoor'a" and a few other papers is that they are published from inside Afghanistan. They talk in the language of fighters and express their feelings in the best possible way.

Jamiat Islami was the first party to publish papers from inside. "Neda-i-Jehad" was a weekly paper published in Panjshir. "Sangar" was another paper published by Abdul Hay Haqiqi's front in Nahrin (Baghlan). "Beshara" was published by the Mujahideen from Herat.

The story of one of the internal publications, "Neda-i-Jehad" may be of interest to our readers.

In 1980, Masood felt the need for a publication. A duplicating machine was

brought from Pakistan. One could not buy a duplicating machine in Kabul without official permission.

At first, the name of the publication was "Mujahid". Jamiat headquarters in Peshawar also published a paper by the same name. To avoid confusion the name of the weekly "Mujahid" was changed to "Neda-i-Jehad" ("Call for Jihad").

It came out on Thursdays, with a circulation of 1200. About 300 copies were smuggled into Kabul. The rest were distributed in the Panjshir valley and neighboring valleys.

The paper was published in Dari in eight pages. The paper and ink were brought from Kabul. Paper and ink were monopolized by the government and one needed official permission to get them from stores. Shopkeepers give the paper to our contact people as a favor to the cause.

When fighting intensified it was difficult to get paper from Kabul. Attacks against the valley were so intense that it became difficult to continue printing the paper.

"Neda-i-Jehad" became a refuge and then was published from Peshawar. Despite great efforts by its editors, Qanuni and then Sayyed Hamid, it lost its appeal for readers because it became another paper published from exile.

A liberation war is a multi-dimensional struggle. Cultural and propaganda war is a major part of it. Unfortunately the Resistance parties' work in this field has not been very effective.

The papers published in exile can not show the views of the fighters in the field. The language they use is not understandable by the common man. The stories are dull and the pictures are unattractive. The news is old and exaggerated. Lack of professional writers with close contact with fighting fronts is the main reason for the low quality of publications in exile.

Publishing "Shoor'a" is an attempt to give people inside objective news

by the regime to help the Mujahideen. The Mujahideen's message must reach the people in this critical time of the struggle.

AFGHANISTAN Vol 5, No 8  
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and tell them about the Mujahideen's views on different issues. Conditions for publishing papers inside has improved. Military situation is under control. A group of journalists has moved out of the cities controlled

# Afghanistan: The Soviets are all gone, but the sky still refuses to fall

Val Moghadam

**F**EB. 15 has come and gone, but the sky has not fallen in on Kabul.

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who heads the most fundamentalist of the seven parties that make up the *Mujahideen*, once predicted that the Afghan government would collapse "in a matter of weeks" after the Soviet troop withdrawal. Will the government of Dr. Najibullah and the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) still be in place in April to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the April Revolution? They may very well be.

Since last March, when the Geneva Accords were being finalized, pundits have been predicting the collapse of the government, mass defections from the party, and mass desertions from the army. While individuals have defected, nothing on a scale expected of a ruling group facing imminent defeat has taken place. Rebel groups based in Iran and Pakistan insist that the Najibullah government be dissolved and the PDPA dismantled, but this is not likely to happen.

What has escaped the notice of many observers is that, over the past 10 years, the PDPA has quietly been building institutional supports, including a larger state apparatus, social organiza-

tions and an expanded fighting force consisting of a conventional army plus smaller mobile units. What this means is that the party and the government are better organized than most people think, and that they have more supporters than in the past.

In a recent two-week visit to Kabul, I spoke at length with dozens of ordinary Kabulis, conducted interviews with government officials and PDPA members, attended press conferences, spoke with Indian officials and United Nations representatives, visited a prison and traveled widely in and around the city.

To my surprise, Kabul did not look like a city under siege, and for everyone I spoke with, life and business went on as usual. I encountered a range of perspectives among the populace, from deeply sympathetic to the *Mujahideen* to extremely supportive of the Najibullah government, particularly as a result of the National Reconciliation Program, a policy adopted in 1987 to promote peace and dialogue among the contending parties, as well as create a broader-based government.

One result of the National Reconciliation policy was that non-PDPA people were brought into the cabinet and important government posts. An interview with Vice President Hatf discloses that he had been in the business of importing tea from India until National Reconciliation, when he decided

to join the newly formed National Front, a coalition of parties.

Another result of the policy has been that some rebel commanders have come over to the government's side. These commanders have their own armies, which protect certain regions from *Mujahideen* incursions. The government has also helped to organize village self-defense units in some provinces, and I heard tales that, in some instances, these villagers had been more resolute before *Mujahideen* attacks than had local party officials.

In Kabul, I discovered that among the government's fiercest supporters are women, including non-party women — no doubt because they have the most to lose should the *Mujahideen* come to power. They have heard that in the refugee camps in Peshawar which are under *Mujahideen* control, women are veiled and secluded, girls are discouraged from attending the United Nations-run schools, and even health care is forbidden for fear that the women might come under "the gaze of strangers."

They also know what befell Iranian women after the Ayatollah Khomeini and company came to power. In contrast, the PDPA has encouraged female education and employment, which are no longer the privilege of the elite. A working-class grandmother I encountered explained to me how, in the years after the revolution, she had attended literacy classes and received job training. She is now a foreman at the Kabul Construction Plant, and an alternate

member of the central committee of the PDPA.

This kind of social mobility and female participation is unheard of among the *Mujahideen*. As one 17-year-old girl, a member of the Democratic Youth Organization, said to me rather enthusiastically, "The party has created the best conditions for women."

In 1978, the PDPA had 15,000 members; today it has 200,000 throughout the country. In addition to the PDPA there are the social organizations: Trade unions, the youth organization, the women's organizations, four new parties and associations of journalists, artists, teachers, and so on.

The youth organization is considered the most militant: "These are the children of the revolution," one party member said to me. The hardcore are the party members and they, like everyone else, have undergone military training in recent months. All PDPA members are armed, including the women. If necessary, they will fight.

My visit to Kabul and extensive discussions and observations have convinced me that the government and party of today are not the same as 10 years ago, or even five years ago. The party is now more broad-based — for example, there are more non-communists — and liberal than in the past.

And now, the Soviet troops are gone. These are good reasons why the United States should reconsider its policy of arming the *Mujahideen*. Why prolong bloodshed and suffering? A more decent policy for the Bush administration would be to encourage negotiations and a political solution.

Val Moghadam is a postdoctoral fellow at the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women, where she is engaged in a comparative study of the status of women in post-revolutionary Iran and Afghanistan.

## Future looks bleak for Afghan women

**E**ducation for women? What good does it do? What can they do with it? These were some of the questions asked by Ismail Tarig, a white-bearded refugee from Afghanistan's central Uruzgan province.

He seemed perplexed by a question on what role women might play once the guns fall silent in his country.

"Women," he said, "belong in the house, not in schools and not in offices."

It is an opinion widely shared in a country whose men have risen in rebellion more than once against government attempts to emancipate women and change the structure of a society barely touched by the 20th century.

One of the sparks that set off Afghanistan's civil war, historians say, was the Kabul government's insistence on mixed classes for boys and girls as part of a national literacy campaign which began in May 1978.

United Nations estimates put female literacy in Afghanistan at two per cent, one of the lowest rates in the world. Only one Afghan in 10 can read and write.

The idea of mixing the sexes in public, coupled with a ban on girls marrying before the age of 18, caused deep revulsion and

spurred resentment against an administration seen as a band of communist infiltrates intent on wiping out traditions.

By mid-1979, the popular uprising against unwanted reforms had reached such a pitch that it threatened the survival of the government. In December that year, Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan to prop up the government.

The last Soviet soldier left on February 15 after nine years of war and the Afghan conflict has reverted to civil war between the central government and guerrillas who claim to uphold traditional Islamic and tribal values.

Beyond their common purpose — crushing the administration of President Najibullah — rebel leaders have so far failed to spell out in detail their vision of post-war Afghanistan.

Foreign analysts say there is little doubt that conservative religious leaders will wield more power. There seems equally little doubt they will turn back the clock on the reforms which helped unite Afghanistan's diverse ethnic and tribal groups against the government and its Soviet mentors.

Apart from compulsory mixed education, these included land

reforms aimed at breaking down feudal structures and redistributing the vast holdings of absentee landlords.

That women can expect no change in their status in post-war Afghanistan is as apparent in the refugee camps in Pakistan as it is in "liberated" areas inside Afghanistan.

In the camps, women are confined to separate tents or houses and refugee officials say their access to medical care is limited by the categorical refusal of many Afghan men to let male doctors examine female patients.

In guerrilla-controlled areas in Afghanistan, it is rare to see a woman in the street. Those who leave the confines of their homes wear the *chador*, a voluminous shroud covering the wearer from head to toe. A four-by-four inch (10cm square) rectangle of netting extending from the tip of the nose to the eyebrows prohibits normal vision.

Afghan rebel leaders acknowledge education is the key to progress in their country — backward even by the standards of its neighbors Pakistan and Iran — but they insist reforms must be cautious and change slow.

"We need education," guerrilla chief Abdul Haq said in a recent interview in Peshawar, the northwestern Pakistani border town which serves as headquarters for seven of the 15 major guerrilla groups.

"But we don't want education that runs against our culture."

Progress is not in the way you dress. It is not in Western shirts and western customs."

Such views are likely to keep Afghan women inside their *chadors* and out of schools, jobs, and political decision-making for a long time to come.

The rebels' attitude to women in politics was reflected by the 420-member consultative council which elected a government-in-exile on February 23. Women seeking a female representative will be sadly disappointed.

Some experts on Afghanistan predict the war will lead to an increase in polygamy, a practice which had faded in the past few decades. Polygamy, to few Afghans were wealthy enough to maintain more than one wife.

Islam allows a man to take up to four wives and encourages him to marry his brother's widow. A decade of war has killed more men than women, making the spread of polygamy almost inevitable.

The Soviet-backed rulers in Kabul are not the first to stumble over moves to change the lowly status of women. The rebellion which forced King Amanullah, a Westernized monarch, to flee Afghanistan in 1929 was instigated by religious leaders who objected to a decree banning the *chador* and granting more rights to women.

At the time, the king was criticised for having imposed "hasty" reforms. Six decades later, most Afghans still consider them hasty.

From the Editor:

Louis Dupree died on Nawroz. For the FORUM and everyone who loves Afghanistan, an era is over. Louis was a founding father of this publication, in all of its incarnations. His generosity with his time, ideas, knowledge, humor, enthusiasm and his vocabulary will be sorely missed. Like almost everyone who knew him, we loved Louis and were grateful to have had the privilege of his friendship. Louis, go with God. But remember, only half of you is gone. We still have Nancy.

The FORUM has been bringing its readers Kabul Gov't news all along since we felt our readers would want to know what Kabul said it was doing (and some of it, we thought, was rather amusing). It now comes as a bit of a jolt to read Bakhtar and find some of it echoed in the Western press. There are some interesting tidbits in this issue, if you can manage the small print.

A reminder: some of you have books to review. (The record is 4 years and we haven't seen the review yet!) Unwritten reviews not only anger the authors, they make it difficult for us to get books from publishers.

Many thanks to everyone who sent us information and material for this issue. Keep up the good work. The deadline for the next issue is 5/15.



## EVENTS

"A Festival of Afghan Music" will take place Sunday, May 7 at 2 p.m. at the Int'l House of Chicago, 1414 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL. Sponsored by the Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee, the program will feature a showing of the film "Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's Life in Peshawar, Pakistan," introduced by the film's director. John Baily. There will also be live Afghan music. Admission is \$8; \$5 for seniors, students with ID & children under 12. Tickets can be ordered in advance from the Committee, P.O. Box 18, Westmont, IL 60559, or purchased at the door. Include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

The 6th annual meeting of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies will take place at Villanova University on May 19-20, 1989.

Barnett Rubin will speak at a Columbia University Seminar on May 9. His topic will be "Afghanistan - The Next Round; Restoring Legitimacy." For further information, call (212) 854-3932.

"Afghanistan, a New Beginning" is the title of an exhibition which opened at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde on 4/11.

Cont. on p. 24



CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

February 16, 1989

# Rough Game Mirrors Afghan Political Strife

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer (Excerpts)

But the *buzkashi* match Friday at the Khursan refugee camp, 10 miles north of Peshawar near the Afghan border, was also symbolic of Afghanistan's current crisis.

The match was financially underwritten by the foreign community that has been working with the 3.2 million Afghan refugees scattered in hundreds of camps like Khursan along Pakistan's western border, a departure from the ancient tradition of matches sponsored by khans—powerful village chieftains or local officials.

And several of the expatriate *buzkashi* fans agreed that it was a well-meant salute to the Afghans for their success in driving out the Soviet troops in a guerrilla war financed largely by the United States.

The master of ceremonies of the event was the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley, who sat in the front row and, in an act many Afghans saw as an inadvertent insult, personally handed out cash prizes to the stars of the match when it was over.

## Turncoats and eccentrics revel in Kabul's intrigues

IN spite of the threat of guerrilla attacks, men who could have left Afghanistan long ago are determined to stay. They talk to CHRISTOPHER WALKER.

For one prosperous Kabul villa, a former Soviet command center, who defected with his 5,000 fighters to the pro-Moscow Government, receiving 72 shrapnel wounds in a shoot-out with the Afghan security forces of which he was then a member, was holding court in broken Russian.

Outside his study a mounted Soviet machinegun sat menacingly on a glass-topped table covered with empty whisky bottles.

Marshall Ismailullah Muslim, who became a turncoat in 1983 in return for a hefty bribe, is typical of the complexities of the latest phase of the Afghan war, claiming his time to have worked for both the KGB and the CIA.

He told journalists that he had 10 wives, all under the age of 22, and said it was lucky that his main personal bodyguard was an illiterate dervish, "otherwise we would have had to be shot because he knows too much."

One by one on the same morning last week Mr. Clay Willoughby, aged 29, a former British Army officer and a direct descendant of Lord Minto, a former Viceroy of India, was riding through the bazaar on his bicycle to a meeting designed to establish the new Kabul Saddle Club—a sideline to the job running a hazardous mine-clearing and demining program for the Afghan Red Crescent.

Mr. Willoughby, a strident critic of the British Government's decision to pull all its diplomats out of

Kabul, told journalists that when his London-based charity, the Hazrat Ali Areas Life Support Organization (HALO Trust), moved into its new Kabul premises, he would be naming his servant "Mackley" after the recently departed British chargé d'affaires, Mr. Ian Mackley.

"The decision to pull out was a cowardly decision," he said. "I am doing it out of contempt."

In another corner of the embattled city, Father Angelo Pangati, an Italian priest who has served here for 24 years on condition he never attempts to convert a Muslim to Christianity, was instructing guards outside the abandoned Italian Embassy to inform all journalists that he had been officially banned by his masters in the Vatican from giving further interviews.

The Roman Catholic priest, whose network of Afghan contacts is unrivaled, is reputed among newsmen and aid workers to know the only possible escape route from Kabul, should the rebels eventually close the city's arteries.

According to the whippers, it involves hiding in an unmarked van driving south to Jalalabad and then crossing into Pakistan in a guerrilla's main train.

Despite the flight of western envoys and the exit of the Soviet troops, Kabul remains a city of intrigue which has an irresistible attraction for eccentrics and can still boast a small cast of resident characters who would credit to the combined imaginations of Eve-

lyn Waugh and Graham Greene.

Marshall (his self-described racist) Muslim, who has physical resemblance to the late General Zia of Pakistan, still professes loyalty to President Najibullah, although he admits that many in the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan would like him dead. Those who loyalties remain suspect and whose violent ways are notorious, have played a key part in helping the Government beat back rebel attempts to conquer the strategic provincial centre of Kandahar.

The marshal, once criticised publicly by the President as both a drunkard and a drug addict, is the most prominent of the former Muslim rebels to have switched sides during the 10-year Afghan war.

Western intelligence say the shoot-out between his men and the security forces had more to do with a row over treatment of a woman Afghan singer than anything remotely ideological.

Mr. Willoughby, a tireless charity worker who dresses in a beige tribesman's hat and has grown a beard, has frequently been accused of being a front man for M16, but he dismisses this.

He plans to spend at least three more years in Kabul, where he is one of only a handful of Britons and the only regular subscriber to *Horse and Hound*.

"The idea that anybody would spy would be as obvious as me," he is ridiculous," Mr. Willoughby said, adding that the telexes which he sends and receives regularly were all going to or coming from London's headquarters.

He has already reviewed the Kabul Saddle Club, and this summer we plan to provide facilities for tent-pegging, racing and hunting."

On the surface, Friday's match was a celebration. But it also took place at a moment when attempts by the guerrillas' political leaders to form a unified government—inexorable for their nation were sagging under the crush of outside pressures from Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, the United States and other nations that served as their benefactors during the rebels' long "holy war."

"You know Russia is a superpower, a big power, an intercontinental power, and Afghanistan is a small country, a peaceful country, a nonaligned country that was invaded by these Russians," the announcer cried as the bearded horsemen ranged across the muddy arena. "But Russia, she was beaten just like the cow, torn to pieces by these horsemen."

In the audience, Hamad Naweed, an Afghan refugee who recalls splendid days of *buzkashi* tournaments in Kabul stadium in the prewar days when he taught school and thought little of politics, saw a different analogy.

"As a matter of fact," he said

thoughtfully to a stranger. "It is very true that *buzkashi* is a metaphor of life in Afghanistan. Look at what's happening on the Afghan issue right now. Everybody is trying to gain something out of Afghanistan. Now that the Soviets have left, our other neighbors, other friends, are starting to try the same thing."

"Iran and Pakistan are trying to put their puppets in Afghanistan. The Arabs are trying to secure Afghanistan as a Muslim state. And that is just like the game. Everybody is pulling Afghanistan toward themselves."

"It is a big mistake for the American ambassador to hand out these prizes," Naweed whispered. "An Afghan must give this out. This is a great insult to us."

"We thank our friends for all they have done for us during the jihad [holy war]. But it is our friends now who are making the mistakes."

"As a matter of fact," he said

The club's card has facilities for "polo," hastily scribbled out, because Mr. Willoughby said he had been unable to find properly trained horses.

Halo, more than any other group appears to have grasped the grotesque dangers of the millions of mines now littering Afghanistan, claims as its "parson saint" Lieutenant Charles Nugent, aged 25, a Briton killed on December 22, 1879, when he accidentally stood on a mine in Kabul during the second British-Afghan war.

His grave is one of 10 British victims still remaining in Kabul's small Christian cemetery, a striking monument to the troubles which have beset the city.

A large section of the

cemetery, today still flanked by a munition along one side, is devoted to the sad graves of western hippies who died from drug abuse during the early 1970s.

"Most were aged between 20 and 22, and most died waiting here to get into Nepal on their never-ending search for more drugs," said Father Paddy Gating, who has conducted every burial in the cemetery since 1965.

Most of the headstones betray the youth of the drug victims, but one grave is unmarked.

When that boy was buried, his hippie friends climbed the wall and built a pagan memorial on his grave which said only that "Billy Batman" loved it.

HK Standard 3/11

## Guerilla cabinet meeting exposes its vulnerability

SHEWAL: Afghanistan: Afghan rebel leader Shehbazullah Mojaddidi fulfilled a pledge that his provisional government would meet inside Afghanistan within a month of its election.

But the cabinet meeting before 80 Pakistan and Western journalists was exposed the vulnerability of the rebels.

The meeting had been scheduled to take place near Jalalabad, the old winter capital east of the Khyber Pass where the guerrillas are investing and which they have said will be their capital.

But at the last minute it was switched, amid reports of a strong counter-attack from President Najibullah's Western troops in Paktia Province well to the south.

It was held at a guerrilla training camp deep in the hills and only a handful of kilometres from the Pakistani border.

The journalists were bussed in from Peshawar in north-west Pakistan to witness the ceremony.

Ten of the 18 rebel ministers representing the seven quarrelsome rebel parties sat round an oilcloth-covered table in a rough stone cabin, guarded by several hundred Mujahideen guerrillas.

The missing party was Syed Ahmad Ghalani's Mahaz-i-Milli: Afghanistan group, which has always been lukewarm about the government.

"It is a great pleasure that we could hold the meeting inside Afghanistan, in a very humble

virtually everybody, including his own gravediggers," the priest explained.

"Later the cemetery committee ordered its removal so that it was subsequently stolen."

Father Gating completed his guided tour of one of Asia's last intact Christian monuments with an acid reference to the battered walls and the dying trees beyond.

Those cracks were caused by Soviet tanks whose commanders were dragged into them, he said.

"The trees were crushed by magnesium flares dropped from planes trying to light off Stinger missiles. Now that the Russians have gone, perhaps our cemetery will have an easier time of it."

situation," Mr. Mojaddidi, the bespectacled rebel president, told reporters.

"We started from zero point. Now we are starting from zero point also the establishment of our government in a very humble, modest and simple way. We hope in the near future we will have a strong government."

In Kabul, an Afghan Foreign Ministry official expressed scepticism about the meeting.

"It is difficult for journalists to be sure whether they are in the territory of Afghanistan or Pakistan," the official told Reuters.

"In any case, if I put my foot over the border I can say I am in Afghanistan; it is a child's game of hide and seek," he said. — Reuters

Los Angeles Times  
February 19, 1989

# Grim outlook for Kabul's man at the top

By EDWARD GORMAN

OF all the world's heads of state, President Mohammad Najibullah of Afghanistan is today in perhaps the most unenviable position.

There is no other world leader whose imminent downfall is so confidently predicted not only by his enemies but, increasingly, by his former friends.

This morning, as he sits at his desk in the presidential palace in Kabul, he too must be wondering how long his ruling regime can hang on. He may also be wondering what might happen to him if it collapses — possibly a choice between assassination, a public execution or life in exile in a dacha on the edge of Moscow.

This is the beginning of the post-Soviet phase of a war which has destroyed his country and claimed the lives of more than 1.5 million fellow Afghans.

The Russians have finally gone home, leaving the president guarded at the palace by

his own men for the first time, and facing without Soviet military assistance the massed ranks of well-armed Mujahadeen guerrillas hungry for revenge and for victory.

"He must know he hasn't got a chance in hell," according to one experienced European analyst.

But the Afghan president, though flawed by a ruthless ambition for power, is neither a fool nor a coward. Despite it all, he remains confident that his regime will survive. And he has made it clear that he is prepared to fight in order to achieve that.

He is open to negotiation with anybody willing to talk to him, but he is determined to bring on the seemingly ever-deepening divisions within the resistance leaders.

Like many Afghans, thrust on to the world stage by Mr Brezhnev's war, Najibullah's past is ill-defined and even the fullest accounts provide only sketchy details of his early years.

## PROFILE

**1947:** Born in Pakia Province, educated at high school and at Kabul University, graduate in medicine

**1965:** Joins the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), twice imprisoned for political activities

**1977-8:** Member of the PDPA Central Committee

**1978:** August: banished to an ambassadorial post in Tashkent

**1979:** December: becomes head of secret police

**1981-2:** Member of the PDPA Revolutionary Council

**1986:** Replaces Babrak Karmal

**1986:** September: target of a failed car-bomb attack

**1989:** February: calls for holy war against the Pakistani threat

He was born in 1947 to a middle-class Pathan family in the eastern provincial city of Gardez. Much of his early childhood was spent in the Pakistani frontier town of Peshawar.

His father, a government official representing Kabul in Gardez, cultivated contacts among the warring Pathan tribes of the frontier, giving the young Najibullah his first lessons in the art of negotiation, at which he now excels.

Najibullah graduated in 1965 from the elite Habibia

High School in Kabul, where he was noted as a diligent student, to Kabul University. There he spent 10 years studying medicine — a degree he was awarded, but a profession he has never practised.

It was during his years at university that Najibullah became active in radical left-wing politics, choosing dialectical materialism over Islamic fundamentalism, organising demonstrations, and becoming a young leader of the Parcham (flag) wing of the fledgling Communist Party.

At university, Najibullah earned the nickname "The Ox" which has stayed with him ever since — indicative not only of his considerable size, but of his strength, augmented at the time by a keen interest in weightlifting and wrestling.

University also gave Najibullah the chance to meet other young radicals, both in and out of the Communist Party, many of whom now lead guerrillas against him.

During the years of the supremacy of the Khalq (masses) wing of the Communist Party after the revolution of 1978, Najibullah was sent into virtual exile with other Parcham leaders as ambassador to Tashkent.

He was not to surface until the Soviet invasion, when he returned to the capital together with the new President, Babrak Karmal, at the head of a Soviet-backed regime dominated by the Parchams.

Moscow considered him a reliable ally and he was installed as the President's right-hand man at the head of the state secret police or KHAD — a post he was to hold until he became leader himself in 1986.

His years leading KHAD — a hated and vicious organisation trained by the KGB, which had imprisoned, tortured and killed thousands of opponents over the years — is the main reason for the bankruptcy of Najibullah's current position.

When the Kremlin finally realised it was getting nowhere in Afghanistan, Najibullah was chosen to replace an increasingly drunken Karmal.

It is clear that President Gromyko felt he could trust on Najibullah's ambitions for power and his loyalty to Moscow, persuading him to stay in Kabul while the Soviets steadily cut the ground from underneath him. "There was no one else in the regime who would have accepted it," the analyst said. "He did. And he's prepared to fight to the last man."

HK Standard 2/18

## Excerpts from an article on the situation in Kabul by Christopher Walker:

Not one building in the city is properly heated. The broad queues (in which several people have died of cold, the empty petrol stations, the growing black market in sugar and the absence of working oil have worsened the abominable quality of daily life in the capital without appearing to accelerate the overthrow of Dr Najibullah.

While most foreign journalists were kept busy attending symbolic government functions far removed from the real seat of power, Khad agents were conducting house-to-house searches which have led to the arrest of hundreds of suspected guerrilla sympathisers and the unearthing of many draft dodgers. The latter were promptly dispatched to the most dangerous frontline areas, such as Jalalabad and Kandahar, which remains out of bounds to UN observers.

Of the 7000 students at Kabul University, more than 2500 have been put under arms since the Soviet departure. Similar ratios are to be found in other institutions.

Dispersed by many Afghans as a "communist", Dr Najibullah has used the dubious skills acquired from his KGB masters to create a formidable army of millions, comprising more than 50,000 men.

These are supported by a 10,000-strong "special guard", members of which are motivated to fight to the death to allow his regime to survive and thus retain their positions.

This tough new breed of defender has to be distinguished from the ordinary conscript soldiers, who are much more prone to defect. The arrogant manner of the militiamen, and their frightening array of weapons, appears to rule out any quick realisation of the hopes of some rebel leaders that Kabul will quickly collapse from within.



THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN March 4-5 1989 - 17

## 600 military advisers

Six hundred Indian military advisers and officers have reportedly arrived in Afghanistan under the leadership of General Sorna Singh who are presently housed at Takhnikum in Mazar Sharif.

This was disclosed by Commander Abdul Hag Hizb-Allah. He says that about 60 pilots of the Indian Airforce are engaged in different operational activities at the Dch Dadi Airport of Mazar Sharif. The Indian unit is very much active in bombing missions on the Jalalabad area, he alleged.

He further reported that the Afghan high command are preparing to use chemical bombs through MIG 27 provided Jalalabad falls to the Mujahideen. The two bombing missions piloted by the Indians were practice runs for the future chemical bombing, he maintained. A plan to build an

airport in Khirkan in the Hazara Bagh area of Oghristan will be the Afghan Government

International Observer April, 1989

## Gromyko Calls Brezhnev a Problem Drinker

LONDON — Former Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, a Kremlin insider for more than four decades, has disclosed that former Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev had a serious drinking problem and ordered the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan after an emotional reaction to the assassination of a Communist leader in Kabul.

Gromyko, 80, who advised every Soviet leader since Josef Stalin, made the disclosures in an interview published Sunday in the London Observer. In the interview, the ex-president — who earlier this year broke a 1979 silence — offered tantalizing insights into decisions by Stalin, Nikita S. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the current Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

But Gromyko's harshest criticism was reserved for Brezhnev, who succeeded Khrushchev in 1964 and led the Soviet Union into what is now considered by the Kremlin to have been a period of economic and moral decay.

Gromyko, who retired last year, said that one of

his major disagreements with Brezhnev stemmed from the Kremlin view of alcoholism, which was afflicting workers throughout the nation.

"It was perfectly obvious that the last person willing to look at this problem was the general secretary himself," Gromyko said. Asked if Brezhnev had a drinking problem, Gromyko paused and then said: "The answer is: Yes, yes, yes."

"He was an emotional man, easily moved to tears. When the news came through [in 1979] that [Nur Mohammed] Taraki, the general secretary of the Afghan Communist Party, had been murdered brutally in his study," Gromyko said, "Brezhnev was to hear. He was simply beside himself."

"Taraki's murder has to be taken into account when considering the steps taken by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan," Gromyko said.

Gromyko's comments will interest Western intelligence officials, who have puzzled for years over the reason for the Soviets' first military move outside their post-World War II borders.

# Smuggling Trade a Victim of Afghan Rebel Offensive

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—The board of directors of the smugglers' bazaar sat cross-legged on pillows and prayer rugs, discussing the far-reaching impact on business of the rebel offensive in neighboring Afghanistan.

As fierce fighting raged about 90 miles to the west, Haji Mohammed Yousef, the oldest and wisest of the shopkeepers in the Bazaar Smugglers' Bazaar, talked of refrigerators and television sets and the economics of one of the world's most lucrative smuggling routes.

"This offensive, you see, has cut the road," said the white-bearded Yousef, 65, who is president of the recently formed smugglers' union. "Before, we were getting thousands of Russian refrigerators, air conditioners and TV sets every week."

"Now, nothing. The fighting is too heavy. The people have all fled. The trade is finished. And now the people on both sides of the border are starting to starve. Believe me, if this continues, there will be big trouble for everyone."

The Afghan rebels' offensive to capture the strategic city of Jalalabad, which intensified early this month, has left hundreds dead and forced tens of thousands of people to abandon their villages and flee to Pakistan.

The Jalalabad assault, launched in the wake of the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan last month, is billed by the rebels and their U.S. and Pakistani supporters as the most important battle of the nine-year-old war. It is the first attempt by the *mujahideen*, as the rebels are known, to capture a major city that could serve as a seat for their provisional government.

But the battle has become a stalemate. The fighting is now limited to an exchange of missiles and artillery and virtually incessant bombing by government aircraft, and some of the rebels' staunchest supporters, the smugglers and tribesmen along the border, are beginning to waver.

For their part, the smugglers have lost the Kabul-to-Peshawar route for cheap Soviet goods, which meant millions of dollars a day to the Islamic border tribes that have harbored the *mujahideen* and their clandestine bases and arms depots and have provided a covert pipeline for U.S. arms for the rebels.

## Hardship May Bring Dissent

But the economic displacement caused by the offensive may trigger anti-government dissent—and possibly armed conflict—in Pakistan, according to Pakistani business leaders and local officials in the strategic North-West Frontier province.

"If this financial part dries up, we will be in big trouble," said Syed Asif Shah, the senior government official in the Khyber Agency, 1200 square miles of semi-autonomous tribal land that lies between Peshawar and the Afghan border.

re known, to capture a major city that could serve as a seat for their provisional government.

But the title has become a talisman. The fighting is now limited to an exchange of missiles and artillery and virtually incessant bombing by government aircraft, and some of the rebels' staunchest supporters, the smugglers and tribesmen along the border, are beginning to waver.

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"If this financial part dries up, we will be in big trouble," said Syed Asif Shah, the senior government official in the Khyber Agency, 1200 square miles of semi-autonomous tribal land that lies between Peshawar and the Afghan border. "It is a two-pronged problem. My ability to feed and influence the tribes becomes eroded, and their ability to feed themselves is eroded. And it now seems that the worst part is that [the rebels] are fighting a war that seems not to have a conclusion."

Since the war began, the border tribes have been the key to Pakistan's successful support for the rebels. Over the centuries, the tribes have been known to side with the regime in Kabul, but since the formation of an independent Pakistan in 1947, the government in Islamabad has taken pains to keep the tribes under its control.

The key to Pakistan's control of the rebels has been money, and in recent years, the government concedes, the money has come from smuggling.

Asif Shah said Pakistani law and other formal agreements with the tribes permit him to levy a government tax on the smuggled goods as they enter the main road to Peshawar.

"We then use this money to purchase information and as political leverage in keeping order in the tribal areas," he said. "If two tribes are fighting, we buy one of them off to stop it. If there's a murderer or kidnaper running loose in the tribal areas, we use the money to persuade the tribal elders to surrender him to us."

"But now that the smuggling route is closed, my revenues have all dried up, and already the trouble is starting."

The crime rate has soared in the

tribal areas in recent weeks, Asif Shah said. Abductions for ransom, car theft and burglary—long taboo in the tribal areas—have doubled, and the local government agents have no money with which to do anything about it.

## Critical of Guerrillas

The tribal elders, known as *maliks*, are complaining, and in a tone increasingly critical of the *mujahideen*.

"This so-called smuggling has been a very heavy trade between Afghanistan and our people, and now our people are going jobless," said Malik Mir Aslam Khan Afridi, who is president of a loosely knit political group known as the Movement for Tribal Unity. "This Jalalabad fighting is very bad. Not only is the trade finished, but thousands of people have died. And we believe the *mujahideen* cannot succeed in this."

"This is no longer a jihad [holy war]. The Russians are gone, and we now have two Islamic brothers fighting, killing from both sides and hurting both sides. These *mujahideen* are now a very heavy weight on our tribes, and we will have to see how long we will take this."

Like most tribal leaders in the frontier region, where officials estimate that every one of the million or so tribesmen now has a sophisticated weapon, Mir Aslam Khan Afridi said his tribe has enough weapons and ammunition for a small army.

"I have rocket launchers," he said. "I have many Kalashnikovs [Soviet AK-47 assault rifles]. I even have a cannon. Every man here has a gun, every kind of weapon. It would not be wise for these *mujahideen* to keep up this fighting for Jalalabad."

Although no such threats are heard at the smuggler's bazaar, the frustration is just as pronounced. "Why all this fighting for Jalalabad?" said the smugglers' elder Haji Mohammed Yousef. "Jalalabad does not have that much value anyway. Why are they wasting their time there?"

Ali Nawaz Khan, the general secretary of the bazaar's newly formed businessmen's union, said: "What we say and what the tribal leaders say, is that both parties should sit down and negotiate with each other. They should not fight. There should be direct negotiations between Najibullah [the president of Afghanistan] and the *mujahideen*. If they keep fighting, everyone loses."

Alarmed by their losses, the smugglers of the bazaar last month took the big step of forming a union in an effort to pressure the Pakistani government into using its influence to reopen the road, and to settle financial disputes among the bazaar's shopkeepers.

Before the road was closed, Nawaz Khan said, shopkeepers had advanced large sums to agents in Afghanistan who had been buying the Soviet appliances in Kabul and selling them to Pakistani agents at prices far below what was being charged for Pakistani goods. Now the appliances are stuck in Kabul and Jalalabad, and the Peshawar shopkeepers are out millions of dollars.

"The problem here is bankrupt—37," the general secretary said. "So many are bankrupt—maybe 40 or 50 shopkeepers in the past month. We act as a kind of jury, bringing together the party who is owed and the party who is owing. The idea is to keep them from settling it another way, by killing each other."

But it is the shopkeepers who are suffering the most in a bazaar that the union says was grossing more than \$1 million a day before the smugglers' route was closed.

"We are dying here," said one shopkeeper, Ghulam Jan, looking around a tiny shop in which there were just three battered Soviet refrigerators and no air conditioners in stock. "We've had to double the price of everything we had in reserve, and now no one wants it. Pakistani appliances are cheaper. And, of course, this could not have happened at a worse time. Summer is almost here."

Los Angeles Times

March 22, 1989



Money changers at their place of business in the smuggler town of Chaman, Pakistan.

1979

1989



Int'l Observer 4/89

## Tradesman's View: Afghans Are Brothers

"The Russians were guilty before, but they are gone," said Abdul Shukoor, a 60-year-old tailor found sitting among his yards of silk and cotton in the Charsu district of Kandahar. Across from where he sat, a sprawling residential district had been totally leveled, as in Herat, by Soviet carpet-bombing. Still, Mr. Shukoor had a message for President Bush. "Please tell him to stop this war," he said. "All Afghans are brothers, and we have no reason to fight each other anymore."

At Herat and Kandahar, the message that came across was that the Government and the guerrillas seemed disinclined, for the time being, to provoke a showdown. The standoff has been prompted, in part, by the major battle under way at Jalalabad, 80 miles east of Kabul.

But there seems to be more than Jalalabad working against the early guerrilla victory predicted by insurgent leaders in Pakistan. With the Soviet troops gone and virtually every- body exhausted by a conflict that is estimated to have taken more than one million lives, new opportunities have opened up for Government contacts with local guerrilla commanders.

These contacts have been played up in Government propaganda for months, usually with the caution that no details can be given for fear of compromising the discussions.

Evidence of cooperation between Government military commanders and some local guerrilla bands has been increasing around some of the larger cities, including Kabul, and in both Herat and Kandahar the commanding generals insisted that the shooting around the cities marked loose arrangements reached in direct talks with the guerrillas.

"Every day, in this very room, I meet with commanders of the Mujahideen," said Lieut. Gen. Nurul Haq Ullumi, Governor of Kandahar Province and army commander in the Kandahar district, while meeting with reporters in his wall-to-wall office in the old King's palace.

The general said Westerners were unlikely to understand the complexities of Afghanistan unless they could grasp the irony of his own position. "The opposition has placed a large bounty on my head," he said. "And the very same people come to meet me at night, either here or at a place that they choose. And that is Afghanistan. In many places in the country we are collaborating with the mujahideen, either openly or in secret. In this way, we are beginning to govern the country together."

From "On Afghanistan Tour: Rubble & Hope" by John P. Burns, NYT 3/25/89

## wrestling in Exile

Two Afghan wrestlers have decided to promote wrestling among refugees by forming a club with the help of Jami'at.

Assadullah, 46, from Kabul and Abdul Baqi, 35, from Ningargar are the two trainers of Hazrat Ali wrestling club.

The club has 30 students 12 of whom are ready for competition with other teams.

In order to support their families, the two trainers have jobs. Assadullah is a tailor who makes fur coats and fur hats.

Assadullah is happy about the result of his work as a trainer. He said that his students contested four times last year, twice in Frontier province and twice in Punjab province. His team won the first position in Frontier Province and the second position in Punjab.

Assadullah said that wrestling was a popular sport in Afghanistan and Afghan wrestlers participated in International contests.

The famous wrestlers of the Afghan national team before the war were Ahmad Jan, Ibrahim Seddiq Zangar, Agha Shireen, Anwar, Jami'at commander in Sorobi district, Khalifa

Nizam and Ameer Jan.

Hazrat Ali club is supported by the Education Committee of Jami'at Islami and the purpose of its establishment is to preserve a traditional Afghan sport.

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan most of the wrestlers of the national team became refugees and some like commander Anwar, and Agha Shireen, who died three years ago, took arms to defend their country.

Assadullah said that his students practice four days a week and are taught new techniques once a week. Once a week the wrestlers lubricate their bodies and the club is closed on Friday.

Assadullah said that his students are ready to participate in international wrestling contests and asked the Mujahideen leaders to pave the way for Afghan sportsmen to participate in international contests.

AFGHANews

## AFGHANISTAN

Part of Afghanistan's cultural heritage is leaving the country with the retreating Soviets. Treasures allegedly being appropriated by the Soviets include the gold of Telatapa—21,000 gold artifacts encrusted with turquoise, from the period between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. [Le Monde, Paris].

WORLD PRESS REVIEW • SEPTEMBER 1988

# Soviets, guerillas exchange prisoners

By Richard M. Wintraub

ISLAMABAD: After months of negotiations, the Soviet Union and Afghan guerillas have staged the largest prisoner exchange of the Afghan war, according to diplomats.

The exchange took place somewhere in Afghanistan within the past two weeks, according to the diplomats. It involved at least 30 and more than 70 Soviet soldiers who had been captured by the US-armed rebels during the 9 years of Soviet involvement in the Afghan war, they said.

In the talks leading up to the exchange, according to the diplomats, Moscow had spoken of returning 25 Mujahideen prisoners for each Soviet soldier released. But when the exchange actually took place, the ratio was only 10 Mujahideen for each Soviet, they said.

"Some of the Mujahideen leaders are not at all happy. The ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] also is upset," the diplomat said. The ICRC is believed to have negotiated and supervised the swap.

It remained unclear whether the controversy over the swap would affect future prisoner exchanges. Also complicating future exchanges is the possibility that some Soviet soldiers may not want to return home, according to diplomats familiar with the issue.

In the months leading up to the final

Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan on Feb. 15, Soviet officials had pressed the Mujahideen for a prisoner exchange. The discrepancies in the two sides' prisoner counts and the question of what to do about those Soviets who do not want to return to their country were major points of discussion in contacts in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia between the rebels and Soviets representatives just before the final Soviet pullout.

Soviet officials have said 312 Soviet soldiers are listed as missing and many of them may be prisoners. How many are in Mujahideen hands is not known publicly, but Soviet officials have said their return is a high priority.

Soviet officials reportedly have removed a number of Afghan prisoners from Kabul's Pul-i-Chakri prison and taken them into the Soviet Union in the weeks prior to the final Soviet pullout, according to diplomatic sources. It is these prisoners, along with others, who might be held by the Soviet-backed Afghan Government in Kabul.

The issue remains a significant point of contact between the Soviets and the new Mujahideen declared Government at a time when the Kremlin is continuing its logistical and political support for the Government of President Najibullah in Kabul.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, NEW DELHI, MARCH 24, 1989

## Return of POWs

Tribal elders in Khost and Tansay area of Afghanistan have decided to hand over Kabul government prisoners of war, either to Mujahideen custody, or to their respective tribes.

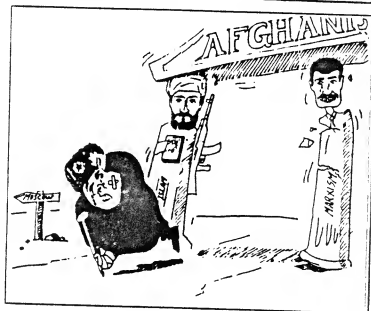
According to Peshawar based Afghan Media Resources

Centre, the decision was taken during Mujahideen's Shura deliberations.

Taking into consideration the likely defection of regime forces and officials at Khost, the elders agreed that all the issues are to be solved as per Piquah Hanafi and Islamic teaching.

"KHYBER MAIL,"

MARCH 15, 1989



AFGHANews

April 1, 1989



# His Training in U.S. No Help to Kabul's Mayor

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—Dressed in army camouflage and combat boots, Mayor Mohammed Hakim of Kabul smiled proudly Friday as he recalled his time in the United States and confessed that it did little to prepare him for one of the worst jobs on Earth.

Now a senior officer of Afghanistan's Soviet-supplied army, Gen. Hakim said he spent four years in the 1970s getting special training at U.S. military institutions in Ft. Benning, Ga., and Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.

"I was an honors graduate," he said, speaking in perfect English during a rare moment of tranquility at his office here.

"I enjoyed America very much," he said. "It is the best country I like the people of the United States. But the government in Washington—well, that is something else."

One can hardly blame him. As mayor and military com-

**'I like the people of the United States. But the government in Washington—well, that is something else.'**

—Mohammed Hakim  
Mayor of Kabul

mander of this battle-torn capital city, Hakim, 48, is charged with the principal task of preventing the fall of Kabul, now the main target of U.S.-backed Islamic rebels who have been fighting against the Soviet-backed Afghan government for years.

In other words, Hakim, who has a brother, two cousins and four brothers-in-law living in the United States, is the keeper of Kabul at a time when U.S. officials have expressed the hope that it will soon fall, and the sooner the better.

Asked if there was not a tinge of irony in that fact, the man who is now a key figure in the regime of President Najibullah and his ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, laughed loudly and shook his head.

"Not at all," he said. "We are all human beings. We are all members of the intelligentsia, and intellectuals think the same. Sometimes, there are misunderstandings. That is all."

## U.S. Training Helps Little

Besides, he added, little of what he learned in America more than a decade ago can help him in his present job.

"There's an old joke around here," he said. "There are three very, very bad jobs in the world. They are the worst jobs on Earth. One is prime minister of India. The second is mayor of Kabul. And the third, well, I have already forgotten the third."

Few mayors anywhere can be

facing the challenges Hakim does.

Rebel rockets rain on his city every day. Its population, now 2 million, has tripled in the past decade, swollen by impoverished refugees fleeing villages flattened in the fighting. Because of shortages caused by war, Hakim can supply only one-sixth of his city's daily water needs, even less of its needed power and only a fraction of its normal consumption of such basics as bread, fuel and meat. And most of the city has no sanitary sewerage or garbage disposal.

## Schools Nearly Empty

Kabul's few hospitals lack medicine, food and equipment to treat the city's many war wounded. Schools are nearly empty because most young men have been drafted. Streets are scarred by cavernous potholes, the result of a harsh winter in a city where tanks occasionally roll through downtown. And the mayor's budget for the capital of what has long ranked as one of the world's poorest nations is among the world's smallest.

Worse, the heavily armed *mujahideen* rebels, who are known to hold positions within sight of Kabul, are planning extensive destabilization operations timed to coincide with next Thursday's anniversary of the coup that brought the ruling party to power.

Hakim fears the city's situation is likely to grow worse.

"This is all the result of war," he said. "Do I like my job? No. I do not like this job at all. But somebody must protect this city, and that is my duty."

## Has Kept Kabul Going

In fact, Hakim is largely credited with keeping Kabul together after the withdrawal of the last Soviet troops from Afghanistan two months ago, an event that many Western analysts had predicted would cause Najibullah's regime to crumble within weeks.

One diplomat here commented the other day, "The most dramatic thing that has happened since the Soviets left Kabul is what has not happened. The expectations were so high of the collapse of the regime that the most striking feature at the moment is how little has changed, and that has helped the regime."

As a result of Najibullah's apparent staying power, most independent analysts here say, his ruling party, which was fraying badly before the Soviet pullout, is more unified now, if for no other reason than its members' personal survival.

The government, in part through public statements by Najibullah and Hakim, has also conducted a successful propaganda campaign against the Islamic rebels, whom they have cast as wild-eyed fundamentalists who adhere to sects alien to Afghanistan and as ruthless killers who routinely torture

their enemies—especially loyal party members like Hakim.

"In Kabul's bazaars now, clearly the people are all fed up with war, but they are saying, in spite of everything, we prefer Najib to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar," said a Western observer. He was referring to the fundamentalist rebels' most radical leader, a chieftain who until recently was the favored recipient of arms and supplies from the United States and Pakistan.

Hakim echoed that observation. "Maybe the people really don't like us, either," he said, "but they like us better than the extremists. This is what the Western countries do not understand."

For Hakim and other senior members of Najibullah's party, that misunderstanding accounts for premature predictions of Kabul's fall.

## 'We Are Not Communists'

"We only hope that Mr. Bush and the people of the United States take a good look at us," the mayor said. "They think we are very fanatic Communists, that we are not human beings. We are not fanatics. We are not even Communists."

As a symbol for Najibullah's government in its recent effort to change the regime's image in the West, Hakim was tailor-made for the part.

He often uses Americanisms in his speech. "It's not your age that counts, it's your mileage," he said to explain a countenance weathered and scarred beyond his 48 years. And his three scars from bullet wounds, one of them in the back of his head, attest to his stature as an authentic war hero.

Hakim speaks glibly of capitalism for his city, of freedom of speech and freedom of movement, and he glosses over Kabul's long bread lines, caused partly by shortages of fuel for baking but also by the fact that much of the bread and fuel goes to the army and loyal party members.

## Palace Heavily Guarded

Clearly, there is another side to Hakim's city. There is a huge and constant military presence. Najibullah's palace is heavily guarded by tanks and armored personnel carriers. Soldiers and other civilian militiamen swarm through the streets, and Hakim himself is something of a martial-law mayor, although he was indirectly elected to the post last year by a popularly elected ruling council.

And despite his U.S. military training, Hakim quickly pointed out that Kabul's two official sister cities are Moscow and Prague and that his Russian language skills are at least as good as his English.

Hakim insisted, however, that he hopes for a day when a truly democratic and conciliatory condition prevails here—a government "that is neither pro-Soviet nor pro-West"—but he conceded that first there must be peace, and peace now seems to be a long way off.

"I look forward to when the war is over, when everyone, tourists from all over the world, can come to Kabul and see it as a beautiful

place," the mayor said of this breathtaking city, surrounded by the snow-capped ranges of the Hindu Kush. "I hope for the day, when the world will help us develop this poor city and our backward country."

"But unless both the big powers ... help us in a political way instead of sending more war, this war, I'm afraid, will go on a long time."

**Los Angeles Times**

April 22, 1989

## EVENTS ... Con't from p. 1.

"The Potential for Recovery in Afghanistan & the Role of Int'l Assistance" is the topic of a conference in Geneva, May 5-7, co-sponsored by the UN Humanitarian & Economic Assistance Programs relating to Afghanistan, the Inst. of Ethnology of Neuchatel & the Geneva Inst. of Development Studies. Topics will include rural development, social & economic issues & women.

Richard Newell presented a paper on "Afghanistan After the Soviets" on 3/19 at the annual Assn. for Asian Studies Meeting.

The Minister-Counselor, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Embassy of Afghanistan in Washington & his wife held a reception on 4/27 on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the Saur Revolution.

The 1989 Middle East Studies Assn. annual meeting will be held in Toronto from 11/15-18. For further information contact MESA 1989, Dept. of Oriental Studies, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721, (602)621-5850.

# ORGANIZATIONS

A recent returnee from Pakistan noted that Peshawar is all LETTERS. Acronymic may be the future Afghan lingua franca. Here's a start on a vocabulary:

AVICEN (Afghanistan Vaccination & Immunization Center), established by Santé Sud (200 Blvd. National, Le Gypsis, Bâtiment N, 13003 Marseille, France). The only Pakistan-based agency devoted to establishing immunization programs in liberated Afghanistan, AVICEN trains Afghans in vaccination techniques, proper vaccine handling, record keeping, cold-chain storage, etc. AVICEN VSSTs (Vaccination Support & Survey Teams) work with MTA (Medical Training for Afghans), AMI, Solidarite Afghanistan, IMC, Freedom Medicine, Medicine du Monde, MSF, the Swedish (SCA) & Norwegian NAC Committees, MSH (Mgm't Sciences for Health) UNICEF, CMC, ISRA (Islamic Relief Agency), MADERA (veterinary vaccination group), the AHC (Alliance Health Committee, the health committees of 2 Shia parties, various Afghan commanders & Afghan Medical Assns. AVICEN's EPI-AR program works in the refugee camps with UNHCR & other voluntary agencies in Pakistan.

IMC (Int'l Medical Corps) has moved; the new address is 10880 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 606, Los Angeles, CA 90024. (213) 474-3927. IMC activities include upgrading & expanding its clinic system, working with AVICEN to immunize Afghans against measles, tetanus & TB, designing a Female Medic Training Program to instruct Afghan women in the principles of sanitation, immunization, nutrition & related preventive medical issues, including gynecological & infant care.

Dan McKinnon was elected president of IMC's San Diego Chapter (P.O. Box 19973, San Diego, CA 92119). IMC's Executive Director Nancy Aossy was elected one of Glamour magazine's 10 Outstanding Young Working Women of 1989. Her story appeared in the 2/89 issue.

CBHA (Cross-Border Humanitarian Assistance).

Initiated in 1985 by the US Gov't & administered by US AID, CBHA is separate from the US Gov't program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, which is the responsibility of the US Dept. of State. CBHA began with a budget of \$8m to assist PVOs working in Afghanistan. In 1986 it also began assisting the Alliance. The CBHA budget this year may reach \$68m.

Its projects include the Commodity Support Project to provide war-affected Afghans with humanitarian goods, plus transport & distribution. It has recently begun to support the Afghan Commodity & Logistics Unit [ACLU?] which delivers goods inside Afghanistan & works on road construction & maintenance. The Education Sector Support Project is being implemented thru the Alliance Education Council with assistance from the Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha. The Education Center for Afghanistan, an all-Afghan group of educators named by the Alliance, is the agent for the project which supplies materials & training for Afghan schools & teachers. The Health Sector Support Project is a training program for health care personnel implemented the the Alliance Health Committee (AHC). The Agricultural Support Project is to increase agricultural output in Afghanistan through Volunteers in Technical Assistance (VITA).

The Technical Service & Support Project provides funds to identify, develop & evaluate proposals for cross-border activities large & small. Implementation is carried out thru direct contact with the US AID representative for Afghanistan in Islamabad. In 1988, US AID financed European & American PVO activities in health, food aid, education & agriculture to the tune of \$9.4m. The 1989-90 amounts may rise to \$14m. Funding is given thru the PVO Co-Financing Project (health) & the Rural Assistance Project (both cash grants to Afghan families for food & other commodities related to survival & activities aimed at increasing agricultural output). Additionally, the US Gov't has been making annually increasing donations of wheat thru the PL 480 Title II program. In Fiscal Year 1989, 60,000 m.t. of wheat will be provided plus

\$3.m for internal transportation (total value \$16.7m).

The DOD (Dept. of Defense) Humanitarian Relief Program - transporting non-lethal excess DOD property & humanitarian goods donated by the private sector - is also administered by AID. DOD return flights carry war-wounded Afghans to the US, Europe & the Middle East for treatment. AID grants funds to the IMC & the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration to screen & place the patients. The program's 1989 budget is \$10m; this does not include the cost of the goods or the medical treatment. PVOs receiving AID grants (thru 1988) include: IMC, Mercy Corps Int'l, Freedom Medicine, CARE, Save the Children, Amite Franco-Afghane, Solidarite Afghanistan, Medicine de Monde, Gilde du Raid, Aide Medicale Int'l, Solidarite Afghanistan, Afghanistan, German Afghanistan Committee, Austrian Relief Committee, Swedish Committee for Afghanistan & the CMC.

MTA (Medical Training for Afghans, one of the largest medical training projects, is supported by the French Gov't Foreign Office, the Belgian & Swiss Gov'ts, the EEC & several NGOs. "Assistant doctors" receive 18 months of training before going back to Afghanistan to take charge of health care in their local areas. MTA was established at the end of 1985 by Aide Medicale Int'l (AMI) & the Belgian Solidarite Afghanistan. Students are recruited thru local commanders in Afghanistan. So far over 30 MTA-trained health workers are practising in Afghanistan.

The German Afghanistan Committee (Meckenheimer Allee 91, D5300 Bonn 1, FRG) supports medical clinics in Ghazni, Paktia, Nangarhar, Kunar, Logar, Wardak, Samangan, Baghlan & Takhar as well as 2 clinics in the NWFP & at Sadda in the Kurram Agency. Established in 1984 (as the Bonner Afghanistan Komitee) the organization opened a Peshawar office in 1986. In 1987, in collaboration with another German group, the Committee set up the German Humanitarian Service in Quetta. The GHS has set up medical stations in Kandahar, Uruzgan & Zabul. In the winter, when transport into Afghanistan is impossible, the GAC makes

its horses available to Afghan refugees for buzkashi games. The GAC is funded by private donations (50%), the US & FRG Gov'ts (35%). The rest comes from the 50 other relief organizations with which the GAC works.

The Afghanistan Relief Committee (667 Madison Avenue, 18th Floor, New York, NY 10021) gives the following statistics:

- \$25 - will provide vaccines to inoculate 10 children.
- \$50 - will pay for transporting 150 lbs of medicine to the interior of Afghanistan.
- \$100 - will pay for a year's education for 7 children in Afghanistan.
- \$300 - will cover the cost of training 1 Afghan paramedic.
- \$850 - will buy a mobile electric generator.
- \$4,000 - will buy a portable X-ray machine for an Afghan clinic.

AFGHAN HOSPITAL RELIEF, INC., (8830 Long Point Road, Suite 804, Houston, Texas 77055), chaired by Dr. Kermit Veggeberg, plans to recycle some Packaged Disaster Hospitals (which were placed in rural areas around the US in the 50s & 60s in case of atomic warfare) for Afghanistan. Each hospital has remained hermetically sealed and contains the material needed to outfit a simple surgical & medical facility. The 1st such hospital has been sent to Pakistan & will be set up in Asadabad in Kunar Province in Afghanistan. An AHR team left April 1 to set up the hospital in cooperation with the Reconstruction Authority of the Alliance, the Kunar shura & the Kunar Council of Commanders. The AHC & the IMC will select the staff. AHR welcomes the cooperative participation of any organization interested in the Provincial Hospital Restoration Program.

Afghanaid (18 Charing Cross Road, London WC2H 0LT, UK) is fundraising to purchase ambulances which are specially fitted to cope with the difficult terrain in Pakistan & Afghanistan. The vehicles cost £12,000 each. Afghanaid also provides tractors, oxen, seed, fertilizer, timber & skilled carpenters to assist returning Afghan refugees.

The Women's Task Force of the Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee (HRAC) is raising funds to support Tajwar Kakar's Lycee Malalai in Peshawar. Lycee Malalai, the only high school for Afghan girls in Pakistan, has almost 100 students being trained to serve the women & children of Afghanistan when they return home. The WTF has already sent funds to purchase a VCR & a TV so the staff may view demonstration lessons they cannot attend with male teachers. The WTF is now sending books & visual aids for a resource center & library. Contributions should be sent to the Women's Task Force/HRAC, c/o Shirlee Taraki, 1864 Sherman Ave., 7-NW, Evanston, IL 60201. (313)475-7839. The WTF is also selling note cards with envelopes. 6 cards, 3 of each drawing (see below), are \$5.50 which includes postage & handling. Order from the above address.



With a "No to the Veil - Defend Afghan Women!" headline, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) (P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013), is soliciting funds for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund. It calls on all "working oppressed minorities & defenders of democratic rights" for support. "The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal & social defense organization." Here's more:

Despite several and serious differences with the PDPA, we must find ourselves on the same side in opposing the military triumph of reaction, a position which is the basis for our overall revolutionary defensism. Two months ago, the PDC wrote to the Afghan government offering "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend elementary social progress which is in grave danger in Afghanistan. While the Kabul government took this offer as presently unnecessary, it has now asked the Partisan Defense Committee and others to participate in an international campaign of humanitarian aid. We have wholeheartedly undertaken this effort and urge you to generously give your support. Every penny, every dollar collected will be sent to Kabul, Afghanistan; all administrative expenses will be paid by the PDC.

## AUSTRALIAN AID

SYDNEY, March 13: Australia would provide Australian dollars 3.2 million to assist Afghan refugees in Pakistan and returnees to Afghanistan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Gareth Evans, announced on Monday.

Of this, the first two million represents the first component of Australia's pledge made in 1988 to provide dollar 20 million over three years to assist a special United Nations programme to resettle Afghan refugees in their own country.

Senator Evans said Australia's contribution would be used by various UN and international agencies to provide short-term relief and recovery assistance. The bulk of the funds would be used to provide Australian wheat to the returnees. Most of the dollar two million would be channelled through the UN coordinator's office for allocation to the agencies to implement their relief programmes.

Australia's support for Afghan refugees and returnees forms part of the government's humanitarian aid programme managed by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB).

MARCH 14, 1989  
DAWN

## Notes on press briefings from "Bizarre Bazaar" by P.J. O'Rourke in ROLLING STONE, 2/20/89:

"You've put the world to worrying," scolded *shura* spokesman Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, a big affable-faced radical-fundamentalist xenophobe with a beard you could hatch a California condor in. "Journalists should not do divisive things." He then cited an Afghan proverb about "trying to find hair in a bowl of dough" - as apt a description of the profession of journalism as I've heard lately. Interesting, seeing spin control from guys dressed in pajamas with tablecloths wrapped around their heads and bandoleers of ammunition across their chests and almost as many guns as wives. Other aspects of the *mujahadeen* world view, however, aren't so familiar. "One thing the *shura* must do," we were told at the press conference, "is decide the fate of the one and a half million martyrs in Afghanistan." I'm not sure I even want to know what that means.

The ambassador was going on about what a perfect aid program this had been and how the Pakistanis hadn't diverted any of the goods for their own purposes and how none of the *muj* had stolen any of the stuff from other *muj* and how no food or medicine ever wound up back in the bazaar in Peshawar and how the whole program was "nonpolitical" to boot, while the more experienced gentlemen of the press made "Oh, sure" and "I'll bet" faces.

I wasn't paying much attention to the briefing. After all, I'm not a real foreign correspondent. I was stretched out on a consulate sofa, sipping a cold beer and watching Senator Moynihan padding around in the front hall in bathrobe and bedroom slippers, giving every appearance of being completely lost. Sort of like U.S. foreign policy - all undressed

and no place to go. Talk about metaphor alert.

"How come this particular U.S. aid program has been so astonishingly trouble free?" one of the real reporters wanted to know.

"The success of our military and humanitarian aid in Afghanistan is the result of the United States not being intrusive," said Oakley. "Unlike Vietnam, where Americans were doing everything everywhere."

"Have any Americans gone inside with this humanitarian aid?" asked another real reporter.

"If we sent a flood of Americans in there," said the ambassador, "we might muck it up."

And that's why I took the next plane home.



# Afghanistan: OPERATION SALAM

In May last year, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan was appointed Co-ordinator for United Nations Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes relating to Afghanistan. With UNHCR and other UN agencies,

he has launched an operation to prepare for the repatriation of refugees, called "Operation SALAM". In recent months, six missions have been sent to examine conditions in different regions of the country.

Never before had the UN sent exploratory missions on such a large scale to a country which was still shattered by war. The purpose of these missions was to look at the situation in various parts of Afghanistan, particularly in the north-east, the centre, the south and the north-west of the country. A top priority was to find out the state of agricultural production, communications and transport, and the extent to which public and private buildings have been destroyed.

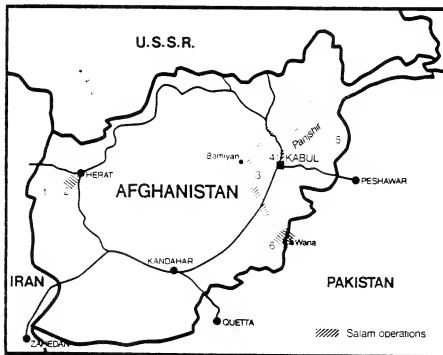
The missions took place in extremely difficult conditions, so much so that several of the horses, and one of the Afghans looking after them, lost their lives. The men and women concerned braved snow and ice, traversed 5,000 metre passes, covered hundreds of kilometres on partially destroyed tracks and roads, in trucks, cars, on donkeys, horses, and on foot.

All of the participants were special envoys of UN agencies, under the direction of the Co-ordinator's Office. UNHCR, which would have a key role to play in the event of a large-scale repatriation, naturally participated in all the expeditions. The missions were accompanied by Afghans, who acted as their guides, helping them to avoid minefields, leading them through the ruins, and drawing their attention to the most critical problems.

SALAM 1 started out from Iran, to visit the Herat region in western Afghanistan. SALAM 2, from Kabul, went to the same area. SALAM 3, the longest of all the missions, traversed the north-eastern part of the country, including the Panshir valley, the centre, including the city of Bamivan, and the south. SALAM 4 should also have gone to the Panshir, but could not get there as it was stopped on the way by a group of armed men. SALAM 5 and 6, setting out from Peshawar in Pakistan, went to the Kunar valley and the province of Paktika. All took place in the latter half of 1988.

The first thing that struck the participants was that several regions had suffered particularly badly from the war, with massive damage and destruction, whilst several others had already recovered a remarkable degree of stability.

As Alfredo Witschi-Cestari, participating in SALAM 3 on behalf of UNHCR, recalls: "In the Panshir valley most of the infrastructure has been destroyed. In some places one can no longer find any trace of the roads or the bridges. As the valley is really a very narrow canyon, the way along it is sometimes only a metre-wide hole through the rock. Everywhere were the same pictures of des-



olation, evidence of the war, abandoned tanks, ruins of people's homes, blasted fields, and asphalt roads torn up by heavy vehicles."

Whilst they were unable to estimate the loss of life, the members of the mission said that they had seen countless makeshift graves, and that the few hospitals still functioning were filled with the injured. Unfortunately, many of these were children who had stepped on a mine while they were going out to collect wood or mind the goats.

The Herat region, which was also visited at length, showed the same signs of 10 years of war. According to the report by mission SALAM 2, 40 per cent of the city, where according to the local authorities there are still 140,000 people living, was ruined. In the surrounding area, the trees and all the vegetation seemed to have been destroyed. Of the 1,300 villages in the province of Herat, 600 have been seriously damaged or totally destroyed.

Olivier Rov, representing the Co-ordinator on SALAM 1, observes that "visiting western Herat is like a visit to Verdun in 1919: for 20 kilometres there is nothing but ruins; the roads and fields are overgrown with weeds. In a landscape churned up by shells and bombs, people frequently uncover the remains of peasants buried in their houses. The hulls of tanks lie rusting on the verges. Unexploded 500 kilogram bombs lie stuck in the ground like beetroots."

Although hundreds of thousands have been killed in the war, and five million Afghans have fled, mainly to Pakistan and Iran, there are still between 10 and 11 million people in the country: men who have stayed to fight, and also whole families and whole groups of the population who have moved around from one village or region to another to escape the effects of the conflict.

Everywhere along their route, the SALAM missions met these "internal migrants," who were trying to survive by sheltering in relatively protected areas - and many of whom are today going back to their home locality to try to put down their roots again. In all the areas visited, they saw families rebuilding their houses, restoring wells blocked by stones and gravel, hoeing their fields.

The essential purpose of the exploratory operation was to identify the most urgent needs and to assess the possibilities of resettlement of refugees and displaced persons. The missions therefore submitted to the Co-ordinator their reports, indicating what they considered to be the priorities.

The first problem is naturally security. Even if the fighting stops, a large part of the country is still peppered with minefields and stray shells. The *mujaheedin* generally know where these are, even though one of them is caught from time to time. But in some areas the removal of mines is essential if the civilian population is to come back to live there. Another security problem is that the highway infrastructure is in such a poor state that there is the risk of road accidents as well. In some places it might be very difficult and dangerous to move large numbers of women, children and older persons.

Another major difficulty, also arising from the state of the infrastructure, will be that of bringing in food and rehabilitation assistance. The number of access roads which are impassable due to damage is so great that the only roads that appear usable are the main ones from Pakistan, Iran and the Soviet Union. This will severely limit the number of entry points for convoys bringing in assistance.

The immediate priority will probably be food. The UN personnel found that over much of the country there is a food shortage, which could get worse and affect the whole country in the spring of 1989. There is wheat to be found in many places, under cultivation at up to 3,500 metres above sea level, but the amounts are insufficient.

Once they return home, the Afghans will have to resume growing crops very quickly: for that, they will need to get seeds and the necessary agricultural equipment. There will also be a need to bring in cattle, another traditional resource of the Afghan peasants. Many have been killed by mines or bombs, others have yielded to disease and entire herds were sold off hastily by their owners before they fled abroad.

Another priority problem to be faced by the Afghans and the international community is that of reconstructing the villages. To rebuild their traditional houses the Afghans need wood. But the ecological damage is already enormous. Plans are therefore need to be made to supply them with timber for building and for heating, so as to avoid the disappearance of the few remaining woods.

The members of the UN mission observed, however, that the economic and social organization of the Afghan communities is still very strong, which should make readjustment easier. Some regions offer more scope than others. In particular, the mission reports indicate that the province of Herat seems to have retained a well-structured organization which should assist the international community in implementing reconstruction programmes once the fighting has stopped.

UN representatives also admired the fact that in spite of the dramatic events and the enormous upheaval in the country, the traditional values and structures of Afghan society have remained intact. Although there is widespread poverty, there is no real destruction or undernourishment of the kind to be found in other areas of conflict.

The SALAM missions were extremely well received and were thus able to go ahead with preparations for a repatriation and reconstruction operation which could be one of the largest in modern history. Further and more detailed analyses will be needed by experts in agriculture, hydrology, geology, zoology and by mining engineers and other technical specialists before such a vast process can begin.

But when can it start? There are still many uncertainties. As we go to press, the refugees in Pakistan continue to declare that they want to go back in early spring so as to plant crops. But how can one envisage a massive return when peace has not yet really been restored in the country? All the members of the SALAM missions agree that it is still much too early to be able to make any forecasts at all.

ANNICK BILLARD

REFUGEES - February 1989

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## A SALUTE TO LOUIS DUPREE

The loss of Louis Dupree will be felt heavily by scholars, policy makers and everyone interested in Afghan affairs. A great loss indeed!

Dupree was the dean of Afghan studies in the United States and one of those who laid the foundation in this field by creating a wealth of research material on Afghanistan.

He is distinguished by the substance and scope of his contributions. His eclectic methods and broad interests ranged from archeological findings to describing a super market in Kabul. Everyone can use his numerous publications - books, articles in both learned and popular journals, pamphlets, AUPS and a variety of other research reports. His contributions elevated the field of Afghan studies.



Louis Dupree in December, 1988

We are all students of Professor Dupree, whether we agree with him or not. His frequent participation in professional meetings contributed substance and color. His outgoing manner and quick wit produced many delightful moments. His enthusiasm for Afghanistan and the Afghans was infectious; his energy was endless; his supply of stories was inexhaustible.

Nothing could shake Dupree's faith in the Afghans. He knew that the Soviets would be defeated and he joined swords with the resistance with his powerful pen. He was not a disinterested observer but an active advocate.

He sacrificed a great deal, including the security of university tenure, to free himself for the pursuit of his love of Afghanistan. He spent lots of time in the country - digging, observing, studying, learning, talking, teaching, helping build Kabul University, and even time in a Marxist prison. His work drew upon primary sources and personal observation, not speculation from abroad. It was all from within. He inspired many American and Afghan students and scholars. He was tireless in guiding them, always willing to extend a helping hand and to share his knowledge and experience.

Down deep I always wished I had the means to give Louis a million dollars so that his work on Afghanistan would not be hampered by having to take the time to write for short-term grants. I never got the means and Louis did not wait any longer. He never knew about my dream.

Needless to say, Louis will be with us forever. And we salute him with deep respect.

Nake Kamrany  
Santa Monica, CA

A memorial service will be held at Meridian House in Washington, D.C., on May 3 at 3:30 p.m.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS from the Int'l Islamic Meeting held in Kabul, Oct.22-23, 1988, n.d. (1989?), n.p. (Kabul?). 266 pp.+ 17 pp.of photographs. Paper.

Last fall, amid much fanfare, Kabul hosted an international meeting that would surely have made the father of the PDPA, Nur Moh'd Taraki, groan with ideological ulcers. The subject of the conference was the Prophet Muhammad and Peace and Social Justice. How many foreign dignitaries were invited to attend the conference remains unclear, as does the number who actually attended. However, this booklet, in English, is composed of speeches given by those attending, messages addressed (by the conference participants?) to various persons and organizations abroad, a list of 11 resolutions adopted by the conference participants, and messages from a variety of Afghan institutions for the success of the conference.

One suspects that only those speeches that supported the Kabul Government would be printed at its expense and that only those expected to make such speeches would bother coming to the conference. Appended to the 266 pages of the booklet are individual, group and audience photographs with at times cryptic captions. Despite the lack of a table of contents and an introduction in the book, one gathers that delegates arrived from Muslim communities in India, the US (Eman Naqshbandi, President of the Organization of Islamic Sciences, New York, and Mian Moh'd Saeed, George Mason University), Bulgaria, Libya, Portugal, Uganda, Indonesia, South Yemen and the USSR. Among the Afghans who addressed the meeting were Najibullah, N. Tahzeeb (ROA Chief Justice), F. Fazli (Chief of Religious Schools), Moh'd Sediq Selani (Islamic Science Univ.), Sheikh M.E. Sadeqi (Deputy Minister of Islamic Affairs) and Maulavi Ghulam Sarwar Manzoor.

Aside from the goal of bolstering the image of Kabul as a staunch promoter of Islam, the conference also appears to have had the aim of establishing an institution to counter the array of Islamic cultural and political institutions sponsored within the Middle East by Saudi Arabia and its supporters. A conference resolution calls for the convening of annual meetings, on the birthday of the Prophet, in various Islamic states under the auspices of the International Islamic Meeting. We therefore may expect such gatherings to be convened in participant state areas. Without the petroleum wealth of the Middle East to finance the project, we can hazard a guess as to the identity of the holder of the purse strings.

Despite the political ramifications of the fall conference, the content of the speeches, particularly those made by Afghans, is interesting. Once again, as in the days of Amanullah's caliphate interest, Kabul may be grasping at the idea of playing a leadership role within the peripheral Islamic community.

Eden Naby  
Brimfield, Massachusetts

DANZIGER'S TRAVELS: Beyond Forbidden Frontiers, Nick Danziger, 1988, Vintage Departures. 427 pp. \$8.95. ISBN 0-679-73994-7.

Nick Danziger, art school graduate, linguist and resourceful adventurer, applied to a British foundation for a grant to "cross frontiers" in order to acquire an understanding of other cultures. His original plan, to retrace Mayan trade routes in Guatemala by dugout canoe, became politically impossible so, since he had gotten the grant, he had to find a new itinerary. Why not overland on the silk road? It was a trade route, it crossed borders and cultures, it was a challenge and it would be an adventure. Soviet restrictions quickly ruled out a trek across Soviet Central Asia so Danziger chose the southern route, through Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, to reach China "using local transport, hitching and walking."

Visas were a problem but he managed to finagle a collection of stamps in his passport, letters of recommendation in a variety of scripts and an assortment of fake ID

cards, which no self-respecting adventurer should be without. He didn't bother with the Kabul Government, figuring his chances of getting across Afghanistan would be better with the mujahideen. In April 1982 he set out on a journey that would last over a year.

He stopped briefly in Paris to learn something about the mujahideen before going on through Turkey and Syria to Iran where, after seeing the country, he conned the mujahideen into smuggling him across the border into Afghanistan. There were difficulties with the arrangements and Danziger was kept waiting for over a week before he was run, literally, across the border in the dead of night. He used the time to memorize prayers, learn some Farsi and get accustomed to his Afghan clothes (which he wore for the rest of his journey) and his Muslim name, Nick Mohammad.

The author is a keen observer and his descriptions of the destruction in and around Herat, the lives of the villagers, and the mujahideen under the command of Ismail Khan are graphic and moving. He spent several weeks with the mujahideen, rejoicing in their small successes and, more often, sharing their fear during daily bombings and their sorrow when there were losses. When the time came for him to move on, Ismail Khan sent him with a group of men who were going to Quetta to negotiate for more weapons. Danziger's account of this journey - by foot, truck, jeep and mule - is epic, complete with guides getting lost in the desert, breakdowns, real and imaginary rival groups, hunger, thirst, etc. However, our hero came through and finally arrived in Quetta to find that the only hotel that would take him was having trouble with its water supply.

In Afghanistan, Danziger the novice stuck to recording his observations and experiences and explaining some of the problems facing the mujahideen and the villagers. It is compelling reading. Once he gets to Pakistan, however, Danziger the expert begins making judgements on other peoples' attitudes and projects. While the reader may agree with many of his comments, his know-it-all attitude becomes increasingly irritating. (By the time he gets through China, it is downright obnoxious.) His machinations with various officials and others that he meets, while clever, disturbed this reader. In the book's acknowledgement he expresses his sorrow "if anyone suffers as a consequence of the clandestine nature of my journey." (xi) "Clandestine"? Don't real spooks cause enough trouble without amateurs hornning in? Parts of his journey were illegal since in many places he travelled without official permission, but there was nothing secret about his adventures except perhaps as they developed in his own mind. We would have liked him better if these concerns had surfaced during his trip.

Nevertheless, Danziger is not your usual tourist nor is he a journalist just doing his stint with the mujahideen. Perhaps any travelling companion becomes tiresome after a year. Live vicariously. Take his trip.- at least through Afghanistan.

Mary Ann Siegfried  
New York City

**FORCED OUT: The Agony of the Refugee in Our Time**, Carole Kismaric with an introduction by William Shawcross, 1989, The Fund for Free Expression & the J.M. Kaplan Fund, NY. 192 pp \$19.95. ISBN 0-679-72347-1 (Random House), ISBN 0-14-012086-6 (Penguin).

The eyes of a Salvadoran mother forced to flee her homeland seem to follow the reader to the next page. On that next page, which folds out to reveal an even larger photograph, the haunting faces of helpless children stare back behind barbed wire in a refugee camp in Honduras.

As the reader moves along, the pinched face of an Ethiopian father pleads as he holds his starving son. Other chilling photos in this pictorial journey show Afghan mujahideen praying in the mountains near Kandahar and an Afghan settlement in Pakistan reduced to rubble by a Soviet air raid that killed 70 people.

The journey is but a small part of a new book, "Forced Out, The Agony of the Refugee in Our Time." Written and edited by Carole Kismaric, former Time-Life editor and editorial director of Aperture, "Forced Out" is the first mass-market book about the world's 14 million refugees.

The book project was an unprecedented joint venture by four major publishers who joined together to release and distribute the book. The original idea was conceived by Joan Davidson, president of the J.M. Kaplan Fund, a New York based family foundation that supports civil liberties and human rights, including Human Rights Watch. The Kaplan Fund underwrote the editorial development of the publication, and Random House, W.W. Norton & Co., William Morrow & Co. and Penguin Books shared equally in financing the book's production. The publishers will be repaid for their initial investment and the costs of marketing; all the additional funds will go to Human Rights Watch.

Along with the 200 photographs taken around the world by television crews, photo-journalists and filmmakers, the book features essays by leading human rights activists, including Aryeh Neier and Jeri Laber of Human Rights Watch, Arthur Helton of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Marc Malloch Brown, former administrator of Khao I Dang refugee camps, and Bill Frelick of the US Committee for Refugees. In addition to a commentary by William Shawcross, the book has several first person accounts by refugee men and women.

Acknowledging that most modern refugees are innocent civilians who have the misfortune to live in areas of conflict and must leave, the book focuses on how a refugee's identity is rooted in his homeland, what happens when he is torn from his culture, what it's like to live in a refugee camp and what the refugee faces when seeking refuge abroad.

But it is the refugees themselves who tell the story the best. The words accompanying the photographs describe the emotional and cultural ties that bind people to their homeland and the pain that is caused when the tie is severed. Afridai, an Afghan in a Pakistani camp, states: "Before we came here, we lived in the mountains. We were nomads. We have always been nomads and we moved about freely. I have a wife and 5 children. We live here in the camp together with 30,000 other refugees. The life of our people in our homeland was like a dream. Now it is over."

"Forced Out" includes tables, graphs and maps describing where refugees come from, where they go, what individual governments are doing about them and how much - in dollars and in pain - it all costs. The book also deals with the anguish that families face as they are many times separated or as they are herded together in camps. We see the despair as refugees move from one country to another, continually victims, as the world seems to shut its doors. A tiny 1.5% of the world's 14 million refugees ever goes home.

The softcover book sells for \$19.95 and is aimed at the public as an educational vehicle. Certainly the photographs alone shake the reader out of any notion of the world being a perfect, fair place. The descriptions of life by the refugees themselves put breath into the pictures; the book seems to come alive.

It's a pity that while the size of the book (10" x 13½") makes the photos all the more compelling, it also makes it cumbersome as a reference book. In addition, with all of the underwriting which indeed kept the cost of individual books down, \$19.95 still is a large chunk for many people to pay for a paperback, no matter how worthy the cause.

And everyone should read this book. It doesn't preach but neither does it soft-sell the truth. There is a lot of pain in those pages, but only by awareness of that pain will the rest of the world be shaken enough to wield its political and financial power to do something about it.

Kathleen Hale  
New York City

# THE KABUL TIMES

## Law on state of emergency

First article: This law is formulated in line with the provisions of clause 5 of article 144 of the constitution for the purpose of determining the authority and nature of the activity of state organs and organising the political life of the society during the period when state of emergency continues.

2nd article: In line with the provision of article 143 of the constitution if preservation of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity becomes impossible through channels determined by the constitution due to war, danger of war, crisis and or similar situations, the President of the Republic of Afghanistan can declare the state of emergency. The proclamation and the fixing of the date for the enforcement of the state of emergency shall be made in accordance with the provision of the clause 11, article 75 and provision of article 143 of the

constitution by the President of the Republic of Afghanistan. The decree of the President of the Republic in this regard shall be brought to the notice of the public through mass media.

3rd article: During the period of the state of emergency President of the Republic in addition to the authorities enshrined in article 75 of the constitution, and enforcing laws, has the following authorities:

A—(1) to limit the term of the authority of the National Assembly.

(2) to transfer some authorities of the National Assembly to the Council of Ministers.

(3) to give some of the authorities of courts, to special courts and tribunals of the armed forces.

(4) to suspend and or limit the validity of article

les 30,44,45,46 49 and 50 and last clause of article 51 and articles 52 and 60 of the constitution.

B—(1) to lead the High Council of Defence of the country in accordance with the provision of law.

(2) to call and chair the sessions of the Council of Ministers.

(3) to create special courts and attorney offices.

(4) to abrogate the resolutions of the Council of Ministers in case they contradict the provision of the constitution and the enforcing laws.

(5) to suspend the term of the authority of the local organs of state power and administration, to grant authority to special courts to handle crimes of heavy consequences.

4th article: In the state

of emergency the high council of defence of the country is set up as the high leading political-military organ.

The composition and determination of the authority of the high council of defence of the country shall be managed through separate law.

5th article: During the continuation of the state of emergency period the following actions are permissible by the state:

4—(1) Acquisition of the property of persons for the purpose of fulfilling the aims of this law.

2—Inspection of houses for the purpose of searching for goods which are special for perpetration of crime, and for searching suspects against internal and external security of the Republic of Afghanistan.

3—Investigating into telephone, a telegraphic conversations and other types of communications for the purpose of discovering facts about the crime.

4—Censoring press before it comes out by the special attorney of National Security.

5—Prosecution of criticism made against the public law and order.

6—Performance of forced labour for the purpose of realising public law and order.

7—Creation of obstacle to travelling to and or settlement of citizens in some parts of the country.

8—Imposition of restriction on the visit and return of citizens from abroad and inside the country.

9—Clamping of night curfew throughout the country or in some provinces and cities.

B—The public service duty-officers is obliged to bring the results of his measures on the implementation of the provision of clauses 1,2, and 3, part A. of this article to the information of the competent court within 48 hours.

6th article: During the period of state of emergency, citizens cannot make assemblies, demonstrations and strikes.

7th article: Carrying arms without the permission of the competent organs is forbidden. Those who illegally carry arms shall be arrested and punished by the competent court.

8th article: During the emergency period President, vice presidents, and members of high courts of

the armed forces and special national security shall be omitted from the composition of the high council of supreme court is inserted in article 27 of the law for organisation and authority of courts.

9th article: During the state of emergency period the verdicts of the primary courts of armed forces and special security courts shall be final.

The verdict for capital punishment and life imprisonment by the above-mentioned courts is an exception from this and is appealable.

10th article: During the state of emergency period the responsibility of affairs pertaining to material, transportation and technical securities and preservation of the armed forces and national security shall be on the shoulder of the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of National Security of the Republic of Afghanistan respectively.

11th article: During the state of emergency the penal provisions inserted in the military criminal laws and crimes against internal and external security of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be implemented in strict manner.

12th article: During the emergency period the responsible officials of the executive organs of the local councils shall be appointed by the President of the Republic.

13th article: If the period of the state of emergency continues for more than three months its continuation is subject to the agreement of the Loya Jirga. In this case Loya Jirga shall be called in accordance with the provision of Chapter Four of the Constitution and the law for election of Loya Jirga.

14th article: The termination of the state of emergency shall be proclaimed by the President of the Republic. With the termination of the state of emergency the provisions of this law shall be void of validity.

15th article: This law shall be enforced after the endorsement of President of the Republic and its publication in mass-media and the Official Gazette.

FEBRUARY 22, 1983

## new decrees

Under the article 104 of the Constitution, President Najibullah has approved the following legislative decrees of the Council of Ministers dated 19 January 1983:

— Decree No. 22 on amendment to the law on military services;

— Decree No. 27 on abolishing the articles 73 and 74 and amendment to article 75 of the law on military services;

— Decree No. 23 on amendment to the articles 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the law on military penalties.

The new amendments to the law on military services published in the Official Gazette 644 are presented below:

Article 1—The following has been added to article 9 of the law on military services: Those recruits who have to support the family should be enrolled in the ranks of the armed forces in their neighbourhoods. They receive the salary of reserved service if they undergo the terms of the military obligation and the salary of the category of volunteers if

they undergo the terms of their reserved service.

Article 2—The interval between the two services has been fixed for two years.

Article 3—Parts five and six of clause 1 of Article 41 is cancelled:

Article 4—Clauses 1 and 3 of article 42 is abolished.

Article 5—The above amendments enter into force after the approval and are published in the Official Gazette.

Other amendments in the law on military services in the same issue of the Official Gazette:

Article 1—Articles 73 and 74 of the law on military services are cancelled.

Article 2—Article 73 has been amended as follows:

1—If the period of absence of non-commissioned officers and soldiers due to excessive services and excessive leaves, as well as return after being hospitalized is exempted in the case of having a justifiable ground provided the terms do not exceed 20 days.

2—If the period exceeds 20 days, it merits punish-

ment in accordance with the law on military services.

Article 3—These amendments are enacted after approval and are published in the Official Gazette.

Similarly, under the same article of the Constitution, President Najibullah has signed some other legislative decrees of the Council of Ministers dated 19 January 1983:

Decree No. 25 on amendments to articles 25 and 27 of the attorney law on detecting and interrogating into the crimes;

Decree No. 26 on amendments to the Articles 40 and 57 of the attorney law; and

Decree No. 24 on amendments to the Articles 97-105 as well as 126 of the law on organisation and authorities of the courts of the RA.

JANUARY 21, 1983

## new ministers

KABUL, FEB. 19, (BIA)  
As per article 104 of the constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan and regarding the proposal of the Council of Ministers dated Feb. 18, President Najibullah has issued a decree on the appointments of:



**Lt. Gen. Khaliullah**  
**Minister of Transport**



**Mir Azmuddin**  
**Minister of Communications**



**Burhan Ghiasi**  
**Minister of Commerce**



**Shair Jan Mazdoryar**  
**Minister of Civil Aviation**



**Abdullah Bahar**  
**Minister of Light Industries and Foodstuffs**



**Khudaddad Bakharmal**  
**Minister of Education**



**M. Ismail Danesh**  
**Minister of Higher and Vocational Education**



**Sayed Amir Zarah**  
**Minister of Public Health**



**Sayed Ikram Paygir**  
**Minister of Repatriates Affairs**



**A. Ghafour Bahar**  
**Minister of Islamic Affairs and Religious Th-  
uists**



**Dr. Noor Ahmad Barith**  
**Minister Without Portfolio**

**MARCH 15, 1989**

## New privileges

Moral and material privileges are extended by the state to those drivers engaged in transportation of goods on Kabul-Hairatan highway.

A concerned source of KamAZ transportation enterprise told in this connection: "Based on the new decision with regard to activities of KamAZ drivers who move to and

fro on the highway, those travelling three times in a month to Hairatan port and back to Kabul are paid by the state Afs. 39,290 if his truck is a full trailer one, those with the semi-trailers, would earn 33,220 Afs. and those without a trailer gain 28,580 Afs. divisible by each travel. Additionally, they are paid daily as

food allowance Afs. 400 in case they transport foodstuffs."

The source added: "According to the enterprise by law in this respect similar privileges have been envisaged for drivers of other transportation vehicles.

"For the drivers who didn't pass their military service, in addition to

the aforementioned privileges military exemption cards for a duration of two years, and for the drivers liable for reserved military call up permanent exemption cards have been envisaged in the by law. Also the drivers are rewarded coupons like other civil servants, and other privileges enshrined in the labour law."

**JANUARY 26, 1989**

## BREAD WEIGHT RAISED

KABUL, JAN. 21, (BIA)  
BIA reports that the Union of Kabul city bakers has decided to raise from Jan. 20 onward the weight of a loaf of bread from 200 grammes to 220 grammes offer it for Afs. six to the citizens.

The session of Municipality was held on Thursday and it appreciated the activities of Ghulam Rabani the baker of Sarai Ghazni area who sold a loaf of 220 grammes of bread for Afs six and the session decided also that two more bags of flour should be distribute to him.



Excerpts from Najibullah's speech dealing with the state of emergency (KT 2/21):

#### **Zealous youth of the country,**

Your tied belts and manly shoulders guarantee the independence and pride of our beloved country, Afghanistan. You are heirs of our forefathers and the hope of homeland's offspring. We invite you to a sound idea and action. With a boundless love for the homeland, utilise your all-out efforts and blossoming talents in the service of people and building of our beloved country. The future of the country, its building and blossoming need your hands and brains. You scholars in different fields, national heroes, doctors and engineers are the future builders of the country. Get ready for the building of the homeland and healing of the pains caused by the fratricidal war. The country needs you. In such conditions, people pin hope on you. We invite you for a responsible thinking for the good of the country and people. Strengthen ever more with your enlistment in the ranks of the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, — the protectors of the homeland and strugglers of the path of peace.

**Commanders of the armed opposition groups,**  
So far you showed armed resistance due to the presence of the Soviet forces. They returned to their country. The continuation of war and killing has no result any more, just destruction of the country. We have generously and manly extended hands to you. If you do not shake honestly and warmly our hands of brotherhood and Afghanistan, the responsibility for all the destructions and devastations would rest with you. We want to separate our way from those who sacrifice your juvenility, blood and force for the benefit of the enemies of the country, and collect dollars and vanities of the world.

Your responsibility is more than any body else, because you have arms in hands. Do not allow the enemies of the homeland to use heroism, bravery and zeal in destroying your home, by your own hands. Do not allow your children become orphaned by the continuation of war. You that have the power of work and activity, put an end to the war. Cultivate gardens, lands and fields. Utilise your capitals and earn lawful bread in accordance with the orders of the sacred religion of Islam. The state is ready to provide you with all facilities and possibilities in the fields of grain, cattle breeding, agriculture, horticulture and transport.

**Peasants of the country,**  
You that plough the fertile land of the country by your strong hands and supply lawful sustenance to yourselves and the people, now look at your lands. The hated war has changed these flourishing and prosperous lands to barren soils full of useless grasses and dumps. Subterranean canals and streams have been ruined. The rehabilitation of these lands needs your strong hands. Work on field is equal to worshipping God. War is a satanic move. Curse war and war-mongers, and grow on the land of God the seed of peace and goodness. Now that is the pretext for the continuation of war has remained, return to your beautiful and green villages and resume peaceful life.

#### **Tilling workers of the country,**

You, who with a high political awareness are keeping active the wheels of machines for the economic development of the country, have realised well the essence of the imposed war which has damaged our production level and inflicted negative impacts on your economic family life. In such conditions the motherland calls on all her sons for further work and devotion. Foreign enemies in collusion with a handful of traitors intend to negate the independence of our beloved country. They have stretched their dirty hands toward our country and fixed eyes to plunder the rich mines, natural resources and man power of our country. We call upon you and all the countrymen to cut these dirty hands and blind the greedy eyes of the enemies. We want you, in these sensitive historic moments of our country, to utilise your all power and experience for further and better production. Defend resolutely the factories, mines and projects which have been built by your powerful hands.

#### **Brave Afghan women, girls,**

The war has brought to your mothers and your children disaster. We sense your great pain, warm tears and the black chader of you compatriot mothers and sisters and the pale faces of the orphaned children of the country. You are the legitimate heirs of Malaysians and Zarghounas.

For the sake of performing the mothers' duty, for the sake of preserving the lofty position of mothers, and for the sake of renewing the memories of the generations of heroic mothers of the country all our mothers and sisters are duty bound, to play their worthy role in defence of the country and repelling the enemies who deny the skill, talent and dignity of women.

The fraternal militia living in our united country Afghanistan, Pashtoons, Tajicks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkmenans, Baluchis, Nuristanis, Pashayees and other brotherly nationalities and Muslim and religious compatriots strive, without national, religious and language distinction, to establish unity and Islamic and Afghan solidarity in Afghanistan for the purpose of realising the sacred aim, that is, restoration of peace and tranquility in your ancestral land. Don't allow those who are working under aliens to damage your national rights through war mongering actions sowing the seeds of discord among the fraternal nationalities and your religious brothers and fan up hostility among you in the interest of aliens.

Foil their anti-national and anti-religion activities of the historic enemies of our homeland with your high national and Islamic sense of alertness and vigilance.

If we are from Balkh or Kandahar we are all raised on the same mountain and land.

#### **Emigrants living far away from homeland,**

We think, with live conscience, of your bitterness and wondering around, of your heart cry for you. If yesterday's barber wig was set up around you and stopped you from returning home under the pretext of the presence of the Soviet forces and collected under your name and in your absence money and received weapons for bullets and looting, now this pretext has been done away with. Don't let your misery anymore. We are with you. You have behind yourselves a living nation and a proud country. Turn to Afghan brotherhood.

Isn't it troublesome for you, who have Afghan courage and sense of Afghan patriotism and are known in the world, to live further in the camps of emigrants?

There, hunger, famine, lack of medicine, bread and more important of all your being away from the homeland, separate your beloved children from the warm and hot lap of your families. There, the enemy wants to get you away from the legacies of your fathers and forefathers and kill the nucleus of patriotism and bravery in them.

Leave tents and camps and say goodbye to poverty and separation from the homeland. The homeland is waiting for you. Come to your homeland and cultivate your arable land and walk on your mountains and in your beautiful valleys of your country. Come to your homeland and breathe, instead of dry and diseased climate of the deserts, the lovely air, of your dear country. Your relatives, families, brothers and acquaintances are waiting for you every day.

Come to the homeland. Perform prayers in your mosques and embark on construction of your country.

Schools await your children. The homeland is in need of your strong and powerful hands. Afghans have never been under the shadow and refuge of others and have never set on others' rug. Prefer the soil of your homeland to the marble palaces of others. Our compatriots living far away from your homeland we are waiting for you.

We have full belief that the sky of our country will be cleaned of the fog of war, bloodshed and revenge and the peace-loving people of Afghanistan get busy healing the wounds of war and rehabilitating the country.

## **President appoints high council for defence**

Following is the decree of President Najibullah on the new composition of the high council for defence of the country:

As per the article five of the law on high council for defence of the Country I approve the appointment of the following persons as members of the council.

**Abdul Rahim Hatif** vice president of the Republic of Afghanistan and vice chairman of the high council of defence.

**Sultan Ali Roshan** member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA CC as vice chairman of the high defence council of the country.

**Col General Mohammad Raife** Vice President of the Republic of Afghanistan, Col. General Mohammad Faruq Yasubi Minister of State Security, Col. General Mohammad Aslam Watanjari Minister of Interior, Col. General Shahinwaz Tania minister of national defence, Abdul Wakil Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sultan Ali Roshan Minister of frontier affairs, Najmuddin Kawwani member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA CC, Niaz Mohammad Momand member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA CC, Halder Masoud member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA CC, Mirshahib Karwal alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PDPA CC, Farid Ahmad Mazdak alternate member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC and First Secretary of the DYOA, Col. General Nazir Mohammad Alternate member of the Politburo of PDPA CC, Mohammad Daoud Razamayi secretary of the Kabuli city party committee, Maj. General Mohammad Ishaq Tokhi Aide of the president, Lt. General Abdul Haq Oluimi head of the armed forces department of the PDPA CC, and secretary of the high defence council of the country, Lt. General Mohammad Amir Lodin first Deputy Defence Minister and general commander of the Kabul garrison, Lt. General Mohammad Asif Delawar Chief of General Staff of the armed forces, and Lt. General Abdul Qader Akta general commander of air and air defence.

**Najibullah** president of Republic of Afghanistan.

FEBRUARY 24, 1985

## Afghan Stamps

When one thinks about stamps, one would definitely recall postal services. But these two, especially the former, are comparatively new phenomena, while different kinds of communication have existed since the times immemorial.

We have many legends and fables of pigeons that carried love letters, governmental commands and royal decrees, from place to place. The story of Solomon and his errand bird hoopoe is very popular among our people. Hafiz wrote many ghazals on this story of how King Solomon used to send his hoopoe to Saba, the residence of his beloved Bilqis, with messages of love.

*Tarikh-i-Bahaiqi, Qabus Nama* and many other historical works testify to the fact that for many centuries the courier system was an indispensable part of the royal court, in the manner that the administration and army were. For communications are always the life-line of any system.

In Afghanistan the use of stamps and the first formal postal service were introduced in the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan. The first Afghan stamp was issued in May, 1871, some decades after it had originated in England. Historically, the stamps of Afghanistan were inspired by the British, who ruled indirectly almost all kinds of the 19th century.

Amir Sher Ali Khan was famous for his wide-ranging socio-economic reforms. Despite a decade of strife and battles with his sons and brothers, who were his severe rivals, Amir Sher Ali Khan tried his best to consolidate central power and rapidly modernize the country. Mohammad Ghubar writes in his book "Afghanistan in the Course of History" that among the institutions established by Amir Sher Ali Khan's government, was that of post offices in both the capital and some major provinces, including Peshawar. He set up a lithographic printing house in 1875 in Kabul where stamps and *Shams-ul-Nahar* (the first fortnightly periodical of Afghanistan) were printed.

The stamps of Amir Sher Ali Khan were circular in shape. A lion's head was a popular motif in the stamps of that time, used as a symbol of the King's name (Sher means "lion"). The emblem of the *Shams-ul-Nahar* consisted of two standing lions holding swords. The first stamps were also imported and unguessed, having marginal decorations. They were valued according to the common currency of the time: 1 Rupaia Kabul-i-Qiran = 3 Abasi = 6 Saner = 12 Shahi).

When stamps were used, they were cut or torn out, but sometimes the stamps were also crossed out. Philatelists do not consider such stamps as damaged or useless, because they

reflect postal history. Afghan stamps continued to be unguessed until 1907.

During the reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan (1880-1901), the circular shape of Afghan stamps gave way to rectangular and square. A mosque entrance, pulpit and adytum with national flags were main subjects of the stamp design as well as the handwritten sentence "The God-given Government of Afghanistan".

During the reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan the process of conciliation remained as before. The government seals did not consist of any postal dues, and all stamps were valued at Abasi. Stamps for registered and ordinary mail were different.

In the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan (1901-1919), special stamps for government letters were issued. Stamps were cancelled by seals, and perforated stamps made their first appearance. These were valued at Paisa (60 paisas = 1 Rupaia).

During the reign of Amanullah Khan (1919-1929), Afghan philately developed, both as regards publication and designs. The European year had been printed in both sides of stamps and the line "The High Government of Afghanistan". Beautiful thematic stamps were published. Special stamps commemorated the annual independence jubiles.

During the nine-month rule of Amir Habibullah, popularly known as *Bacha-e-Saqau* (Watercarrier's Son) (1929), handstamped seals appeared. They were circular in shape and the sentence "Amir Habibullah, the Servant of the Faith of Mohammad, the Prophet of Allah", was printed between two ears of wheat, while on the top of it was a five-point star.

With subsequent development in the country, postal services and philatelic activities intensified. Stamp collecting came to be considered an intellectual hobby. Stamp acquired broader themes. Historical monuments, archaeological relics and ruins were commonly depicted on stamps. Later, stamps turned into a symbolic panorama of the Afghan life, depicting national sports, eminent social and political figures, agricultural products, birds, flora and fauna as well as folk arts.

Afghanistan started bringing out stamps on international occasions in 1951, when a special stamp was issued to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the formation of the United Nations. It was followed by a stamp to commemorate the seventy-sixth anniversary of the formation of the Universal Postal Union (UPU).

In 1970, a special stamp was issued to commemorate the centenary of the first Afghan postage stamps. Circulation of this single stamp ran into thousands.

In 1974, the first Stamp Museum of Afghanistan was established under the Communication Ministry. The Ministry also published "Bird", a bi-monthly journal, for many years. The journal published articles and features on philatelic, national and international issues as well as reports on philatelic activities abroad. It also published translations from international philatelic sources.

Kabul has been the venue of many stamp exhibitions from different countries. Afghan stamps are displayed frequently at international exhibitions.

The world catalogue of stamps indicates the high position of Afghan stamps, which enjoy great philatelic demand the world over.

Ehsan Azari



Not a Stamp!



Kabul's "Newsweek" carried an article & the 1st picture of ex-King Zahir Shah to appear in many years.

A stamp from Iran:



"Newsweek"



# CHRONOLOGY

1/19 - Financial Times (London) - Christina Lamb reported that the Shias claim they represent 25% of the Afghan population. The Peshawar alliance says Shias make up just 8%. Younis Khalis said the next jihad should be against the Shias.

2/5 - BNA - Chess is the subject of 7 new ROA postage stamps. The stamps have "nice colors & elegant design" (see also p. 38).

- PDPA members held a "grand meeting & march" to express their preparedness to defend their country.

2/6 - BNA - Construction of 2 godowns in Mazar-i-Sharif began Sunday. The warehouses, which will hold 2,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, will be completed in 6 months.

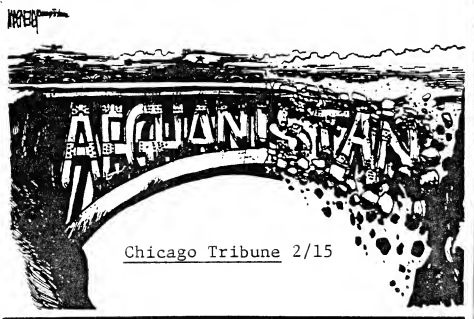
2/11 - BNA cites Najibullah as saying that detachments of the Pakistani army have been positioned in some border areas near Nangarhar Province showing that these forces have "offensive aims." Najibullah also cited Pakistani Pres. Ghulam Eshaq Khan as saying that the Afghan opposition should accept the role of Pakistan in the future of Afghanistan in recognition of the assistance rendered to them by Pakistan. Najibullah recalled that 4 months ago, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar mentioned merging Afghanistan & Pakistan "under the course of a confederation." Najibullah called on all Afghans "to rise, if necessary, for staging a nat'l sacred jihad against a handful of treachers." (See 2/15)

2/12 - BNA - Noor Moh'd Khorami, ROA Ambassador to Ethiopia, will also represent the ROA in Tanzania.

2/15 - BNA - Pakistan's Prime Minister Bhutto denied that Pakistan was concentrating troops on the Pak-Af border. BNA asks if Pakistan is advancing 2 separate policies or is the Prime Min. unaware of Pakistan's current policy? "...Pakistani authorities should understand that any adventurist measures against the interests of Afghanistan is merely a play with fire."

2/19 - BNA - The powers of the Nat'l Assembly are turned over to the ROA Council of Ministers & some articles of the constitution are restricted or suspended &

special courts of security & armed forces will be operating.



2/20 - BNA - The Law of the State of Emergency has 15 articles; the Law of the Supreme Council for the Defense of Afghanistan has 5 chapters & 28 articles. The laws are based on Item 2 of Article 75 of the ROA Constitution. (See p. 35)

2/24 - BNA - Najibullah's Decree #1,826, issued yesterday, calls for "further implementation of the objectives of the Nat'l Reconciliation policy in the central areas of the country where Hazara nationality lives, a coordinating center for Hazara nationality affairs consisting of credible & influential personalities of that nationality to be formed in the frame of a coordinating commission for Hazara nationality."

2/26 - BNA - The ROA Foreign Office called the formation of the "so-called transitional gov't by Afghan opposition" a violation of the UN Charter, the Geneva accords & the 43rd UNGA resolution. The spokesman said the gov't was formed under pressure from the Pakistani Intelligence Service. - NYT - The US will continue to use the Pakistani Intelligence Service as the conduit for military aid to the Afghan guerrillas instead of sending it directly to the newly formed gov't.

2/27 - LAT - Guerrillas claimed that 3 regiments of ROA troops defected in 2 northern provinces 10 days ago.

3/1 - BNA - The 68th anniversary of the signing of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Treaty was celebrated Tuesday.

- The Council of Ministers discussed the emergency decree, petroleum consumption, the hoarding law, transport of goods to

Kabul, price controls & increased bread production.  
- PT - ROA rocket attacks & food shortages are forcing civilians to leave Jalalabad. Some families reportedly are willing to surrender to the mujahideen if they are offered amnesty.

3/2 - From the US State Dept.'s annual narcotics report:

The report said that continuing turmoil in Afghanistan, where the production of opium poppy and heroin trafficking increased in 1988, could lead to an even bigger increase this year if refugees returning home after the nine-year Soviet occupation turn to opium as a cash crop.

Much of the opium poppy grows in areas controlled by the United States-supported Afghan guerrillas or on territory where they have influence, according to the report.

- PT - A subject of hot debate in northern Afghanistan is whether or not the Soviets have pulled out of the Wakhan Corridor. The Soviets reportedly only allowed Nooristanis to live in the Wakhan after the departure of the Turkic tribe that lived there before the Soviet invasion. The Soviets built 1 big & 2 small cantonments in the area, plus a paved road, 2 air strips & an air base for MIG-19 jets. "In recent months, the Soviets have sent out feelers of converting Wakhan into a buffer state." (See 3/6)  
- Some 20,000 amputees, victims of mine explosions, are wandering the streets of Kabul. The Int'l Red Cross hospital reported carrying out 1,600 amputations in 3 days last October. Most of the amputees were injured by butterfly mines, dropped by the thousands by helicopters over the countryside.

- LAT - Also in Kabul:  
About 200 Soviet citizens, still living at the fortified embassy in Kabul, are virtually cut off from the outside world, left with an independent power supply, bakery and only rare ventures into the Afghan capital. The living conditions of the reduced embassy staff

The collapse of order in various parts of the country after the Soviet troop withdrawal, favorable weather and the destruction of some traditional agriculture all make the cultivation of opium extremely attractive.

"As we see refugees moving back into a war-torn country where there is no central government, we see them turning to a fairly easy, quick, profitable means of supporting themselves," Ms. Wroblewski said.

were described in the weekly Moscow News. It said all non-essential staff members as well as women and children had left by the Feb. 15 deadline set for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. "They [those remaining] have already learned how to cook, wash clothes and sew on buttons," the newspaper said.

3/3 - PT - Pakistan rejected an ROA bid to involve the UN Security Council in implementing the Geneva accords, saying the mechanism already exists.

3/4 - PT - Mujahideen have laid siege to Grishik on the Herat-Kandahar road since 2/22.

- BNA - "The military situation has been normal in most provinces of the country & a notable incident has not been observed in the past 24 hours."

- HK Standard - Abdul Haq said a coup against Najibullah was planned on 2/13. He said 580 people, including VP Hamid Mohtat, were involved. Haq also said that Moscow had left 10,000 Persian-speaking troops to help Najibullah. He said they wore the uniforms of Afghan palace guards & lived mostly in East European embassies.

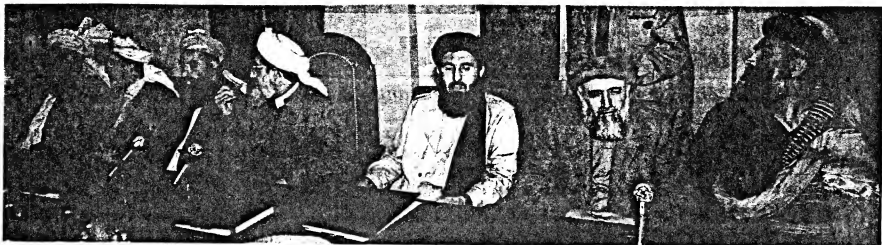
- LAT - The interim gov't is having trouble finding a seat. It has to be in Afghanistan, but also be safe & in an accessible area. Jalalabad is still in the wrong hands, most of Kandahar supports Zahir Shah, so the most logical spot may be Khost.  
- HK Standard - Factions:

Iran and Saudi Arabia back rival factions on each side of Islam's great divide between Sunni and Shi'ite Moslems.

Saudi-Iranian influence, some analysts say, injects sectarian tensions into Afghanistan.

The country's Shi'ite Moslems account for perhaps 20 per cent of the population and have traditionally been the underdogs in Afghan society.

Afghan Shi'ites tent to look to Iran as a model and many regard the Ayatollah Khomeini as their spiritual leader. Saudi Arabia, seat



From left: Khalis, Gailani, Nabi, Mojaddedi, Hekmatyar, Rabbani, Sayyar.

of Islam's holiest shrines and predominantly Sunni, has long watched Khomeini's influence with concern.

To counter his appeal to the minority Shi'ite firebrands, the Saudis have lavished vast sums on promoting their own puritanical brand of Islam, Wahhabism, in Afghanistan.

Mujahedeen who underwent mass conversion to Wahhabism run one of two rival administrations in Asadabad, a rebel-held provincial capital in eastern Afghanistan.

Their rivals accuse the Wahhabis of using Saudi money to buy support, recruit mercenaries and proselytize aggressively, a complaint echoed in other towns and villages under rebel control.

Although many signs point to the possibility of the guerrillas turning their guns on each other once they topple Najibullah, some seasoned observers of the scene say the multiple proxy wars that ruined Lebanon may never happen in Afghanistan.

"Perhaps the Afghans will do what they have always done best," one Western envoy said.

"That is take as much money and as many weapons as they can get from outsiders, then turn round, kick everybody in the butt and do exactly what they please."

3/5 - PT - Gulbuddin announced he had joined the interim gov't & taken up the post of foreign minister. His party will also nominate persons for the justice & border security ministries. He added that elections for a new consultative council must take place by the end of July & that if the interim gov't didn't meet inside Afghanistan before 3/23, his party would withdraw from the coalition.

- SCMP - Ahmad Shah Masoud reportedly has extended his reach to Kunduz Province.

- The price of petrol in Kabul, normally Afs. 1,000 is now Afs. 8,000. It is only available on the black market.

3/6 - HK Standard - Najibullah suggested that the UN airlift supplies for Afghanistan piled up at the Soviet border. "The UN can send these as part of the Soviet Union's contribution to the UN's assistance program to Afghanistan." Kabul residents said they had been promised ration cards for food & fuel but that they were still waiting for the distribution of supplies to begin.

- BNA - Asked about stepping down, Najibullah said:

"It is better to bring together all the forces in a democratic system to represent all the Afghan people instead of removing this or that person or force..."

You consider whether the relief of one person can bring peace? We do not believe in such logic...

As far as my position is concerned, I have been elected by the people's representatives in the Loya Jirgah. I honor their will if the Afghan people take any other decision..."

- PT - A Pakistani Foreign Office spokesman said that, contrary to recent reports (see 3/2), Soviet troops had vacated the Wakhan Corridor.

- SCMP - Benazir Bhutto said the guerrilla demand for int'l recognition was premature, but a Foreign Ministry spokesman said Islamabad was considering the demand. Recognition could come at "the appropriate time."

3/7 - NYT - India will provide humanitarian & technical aid to the Najibullah Gov't:

The Government statement which gave details followed a news conference today in which the Afghan Foreign Minister, Abdul Wakil, said he had come to India to ask for material and diplomatic assistance. Afghanistan, now under a state of emergency, is trying to cope with food and fuel shortages as well as an unstable security situation after the withdrawal of Soviet troops on Feb. 15.

- HK Standard -

KABUL: Three rockets hit heavily-defended Mazar-e-Sharif, capital of Afghanistan's northern Balkh province, over the weekend.

City officials said nobody was injured but it was the first time this year that Mujahedeen rebels fighting to overthrow the government of President Najibullah had struck in the region, which is far from their Pakistan supply bases.

Fifty watchtowers have been built around the town, each manned night and day by half a dozen troops and together forming a security cordon 40 km long.

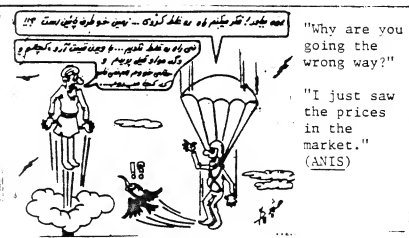
Since the rebels took over Kunduz province, further to the east, after Soviet troops began evacuating it three months ago, Mazar has been strongly reinforced.

Manchester (CT) Herald 2/10



"Praise Allah — there they go. Now we can fight each other in peace."

3/5 - BNA - A 235-vehicle caravan of food & petroleum arrived in Kabul Saturday. "With the arrival of the caravan, problems of food shortage here will be tackled to some extent."



3/8 - BNA - Abdul Wakil sent a message to the UNHCR in Geneva stating that the ROA has taken every step to provide suitable conditions for the voluntary return & settlement of the refugees. However, he said that resettlement requires the full cooperation of Pakistan, the world's nations & int'l aid.

- The Council of Ministers formed a commission to coordinate the purchase of agricultural products for the coming year (1368).

- A Senate commission was assigned to prepare a statement to condemn "the anti-Islamic actions of those who rob state & private goods along the highways."

Int'l Womens Day was marked throughout the ROA.

3/9 - BNA - Extremist attacks in Nangarhar were repulsed by the ROA armed forces.

The Jalalabad airport is open. "Despite sustaining losses, the armed forces dealt heavy blows to the enemies."

- HK Standard - Guerrillas overran Samarkhel, an ROA military fortress outside Jalalabad.

- Meanwhile Afghan resistance leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar on Tuesday met with Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati and his first deputy Ali Mohammad Besharati, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported.

It said the talks centered on the rebels' recently formed provisional government in Afghanistan and its future plans.

Mr Velayati used the occasion to appeal for unity among all mujah-

deen groups for the "formation of an Islamic government representing all Afghan people," said IRNA.

Mr Velayati also reminded his visitor that the interim government set up by the Pakistan-based seven-party Mujahideen alliance "lacked country-wide support for bypassing other main ethnic groups, especially the Iran-based eight-group coalition with controls large parts of Afghanistan," said IRNA.

- NYT - Mojadeddin made his 1st radio address to the Afghan people on Voice of America. He appealed for unity & discipline among the guerrillas & promised amnesty & protection to defectors in the "stage of final victory." He also pledged that general elections would soon be held in Afghanistan to establish a gov't. He called on the guerrillas to refrain



Sibghatullah mojaddedi

from looting & to respect civilian lives & property.

3/10 - Sydney Morning Herald - Mojaddidi asked the USSR to recognize his gov't & to stop backing Kabul. He also demanded seats at the UN & the 46-nation Islamic Conf. Org. (OIC). Mujahideen say they are under pressure from Pakistan to capture a large city in Afghanistan. - NYT - Saudi Arabia recognized the Afghan guerrilla gov't -in-exile yesterday.

3/11 - HK Standard - PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, in India, pledged to work with Indian leaders for peace in Afghanistan. He also met with guerrilla leaders in Pakistan & told them to be more politically realistic.

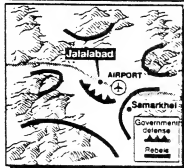
- NYT - The ROA said it had reopened the Jalalabad airport, which guerrillas had captured last Monday.

- PT - At the interim gov't's cabinet meeting inside Afghanistan yesterday, only 6 of the 28 proposed ministers attended. Gailani was in Europe, supposedly unhappy with the share of power allocated to his party. Reportedly, he is exploring the possible return of ex-King Zahir Shah. Culbuddin was in Iran & Younis Khalis was in Saudi Arabia.

- BNA - There is heavy fighting in the Tor Khotal district of Kandahar. "The situation around Jalalabad continues to be tense." However, the defenders "continue to hold out against the active military pressure of armed units of the irreconcilable opposition."

3/12 - BNA - The ROA armed forces reported heavy fighting in Jalalabad, "directly guided by Pakistan." The report says the ROA has "not yet used all its reserves & new weapons." The ROA has complained to the UN Security Council about Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords. It claims that ca. 2,500 Pakistani militia, dressed in Afghan clothes, are directly involved in anti-ROA Gov't operations. Najibullah sent a message to Perez de Cuellar that "the Pakistanis are about to export its favorite gov't into Afghanistan."

- The ROA signed a security protocol with elders of "certain Mirbacha Kot villages"



The New York Times, March 22, 1988

along the Salang Highway. Opponent operations will be stopped & the ROA will not carry out military operations in the area.

3/12 - NYT - John Burns writes that since Massoud is reported to have been unhappy with the composition of the provisional Alliance gov't, his cooperation must have been necessary to allow food convoys to arrive in Kabul (see 3/5).

- The US is trying to figure out a way to get some of its Stingers back from the mujahideen so the missiles won't fall into the hands of private arms dealers or terrorists. (See 3/14)

But officials acknowledge that it may be an impossible task to convince the rebels to return even some of the Stingers. Since the rebels expect huge amounts of aid for Afghanistan's recovery from the United States anyway, they may not feel compelled to give back the Stingers as part of a barter arrangement.

"It's prudent for the Administration to try to recover the Stingers, but personally doubt it will succeed," said Representative Charles Wilson, the Texas Democrat who was instrumental in convincing the Reagan Administration to provide the rebels with Stingers. "There's nothing worth as much as

a Stinger and the mujahideen aren't stupid."

Frank C. Carlucci, the former Secretary of Defense, put it more bluntly. "We'll never get them back, never," he said.

The United States has no clear idea what rebel groups have the Stingers, where the weapons are stored, or even how many are left. Although delivery of new Stinger missiles was sharply curtailed late last spring after the Soviets agreed to a United Nations-sponsored accord to withdraw its troops, American intelligence officials estimate that 200 to 500 Stingers are still in circulation among the rebels.

- PT - The political representative of the mujahideen in Lahore, Eng. S.G. Abid, said general elections for a representative gov't would be held in Afghanistan in 6 months.

3/13 - SCMP - Moscow accused guerrillas of firing on a garrison in Soviet Tadzhikistan.

- BNA - Najibullah sent a message to Rajiv Gandhi asking him to help prevent further aggression in the area.

3/14 - NYT - The ROA used Scud-B missiles in the Jalalabad fighting.

- Sudan recognized the interim gov't.

- A spokesman for Yunis Khalis said that the guerrillas would not return the Stingers. (See 3/12)

3/15 - NYT - The ROA claimed that the US & Pakistan are directing the guerrilla siege of Jalalabad & that 2 Americans have been killed. The State Dept. & the Pentagon denied that there are American advisers in Afghanistan & that any American has been killed.

- HK Standard - In Riyadh, Gulbuddin told the press that the interim gov't would establish ties with the USSR if she paid war compensation & officially pledged non-interference in Afghanistan.

- BNA - Another protocol (see 3/12) for safe passage of ROA supply convoys was signed by the ROA & elders in the Mirbachakot district on 3/14. The agreement in-

cluded the provision that wheat, vegetable oil, sugar, petrol & chemical fertilizer be put at the elders' disposal "against cash."

3/16 - NYT - John Burns reported from Kabul that the Kremlin appears to have resumed an intensive airlift of military supplies to the Kabul Gov't, apparently to help the ROA stave off the guerrilla siege of Jalalabad. At least 20 Ilyushin-76 transports landed at Kabul airport yesterday.

- SCMP - The ROA advised citizens to leave Jalalabad while helicopters evacuated wounded troops & local officials.

The ICRC sent a plane load of supplies from Peshawar to its hospital in Kabul following "an unwritten arrangement between Kabul & the mujahideen." (See 3/29)

- The Tehran Times said Iran should recognize the interim gov't in order to curb Saudi influence over the guerrillas; Kayhan Int'l said recognition was pointless.

- BNA - A scientific & cultural protocol was signed by the GDR & the ROA. It covers "general, higher, technical & civil education & sports."

- According to Najibullah, "the inclusion of few [sic] ministers in the cabinet does not take away that opportunity for work & privileges has been taken away from non-party members & the power monopolized by the party. The fact is that at this difficult & extraordinary phase of our life, the assignment of ministerial posts to party members is not a privilege but is putting heavier responsibilities on their shoulders." (See p.36)

3/17 - PT - Tehran Radio announced that the Kabul regime was dropping chemical bombs on the outskirts of Jalalabad.

- In Riyadh, Gulbuddin took Afghanistan's seat at the OIC meeting. He said he had called Yassir Arafat asking him to instruct his delegation to "tender all-out support to the interim gov't." (See 3/18)

- LAT - The USSR said it had resumed flying weapons to Afghanistan because of the guerrilla offensive at Jalalabad.

- HK Standard - Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan Yuli Vorontsov called for mutual cuts by Moscow & Washington to the warring Afghan factions. Vorontsov continued:

"There are no Soviet troops left on Afghan soil but the fighting intensifies day by day," he said.

"It is an established fact that Pakistani troops are fighting on Afghan soil." "I would say it is the beginning of a Pakistan."



Afghan war - it is a new and very grave situation and we would like the international community to pay attention to it," Mr Voronstov said.

Mr Voronstov, seeking talks between all parties to bring about a broad-based Afghan government, dismissed the formation of an interim Mujahideen government in Pakistan last month.

He described it as "merely a new edition of

the group of seven," a reference to the alliance of seven Pakistan-based Mujahideen factions.

He pointed out that it did not take into consideration other groups such as the Iranian-backed alliance of eight Mujahideen factions. He also called Iran "more responsible" than Pakistan.

"They (the people of Afghanistan) will find a political compromise," he said.

3/17 - BNA - The Coordinating Council of the Left Wing Democratic Party Alliance gave its chairmanship to the PDPA for the next 4 months.

(Right: PDPA - 24 year struggle for peace & progress.)



3/18-19 - The Weekend Australian - The foreign ministers of the OIC recognized the Alliance interim gov't yesterday. Syria & South Yemen expressed reservations & Iraq & the PLO abstained.

- PT - The OIC will continue "generous humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees." It also asked the Islamic Development Bank to do a study on the "scope of the assistance required for the reconstruction of Afghanistan" & to draw up specific programs for the "participation of the Bank & OIC member states in the economic reconstruction of Afghanistan."

- The Economist - Witnesses said that over 30,000 women, children & old men had left Jalalabad for the Pakistan border.

- Bahrain recognized the interim gov't, however:

The resistance politicians, unlike the guerrilla commanders on the ground, have yet to win the confidence of many Afghans. They have spent the war in Pakistan, and some of them are too fundamentalist for the taste of the Afghan middle class. A lot of Afghan townswomen believe their freedom to work alongside men and wear western clothes would be taken from them by the grim zealots of Peshawar.

This is still partly a proxy war, with Pakistan helping the resistance and Russia providing at least food supplies for Mr Najibullah. If the Pakistani army did have a hand in the attack on Jalalabad it cannot feel very pleased with its staff work. The Russians seem confident that, even if Jalalabad falls, Kabul will hold. The road from

Jalalabad to the capital is narrow and twisty, not hard to defend. The road from Kabul to the Soviet border is being kept open by bribes to the tribes along it, a method the British used a century and a half ago. If it is closed, the Russians believe they could sus-

tain Kabul by an airlift, as the West sustained Berlin when the Russians blockaded the city in the late 1940s. History has useful lessons for powers that want to control Afghanistan. The biggest lesson, though, is that so far the guerrillas have always won.

3/19 - LAT - ROA jets, using cluster bombs, have blasted guerrilla positions east of Jalalabad.

During one recent raid, an Afghan fighter jet circled once and then targeted guerrilla positions. Two bombs fell. Seconds before hitting the ground, the bomb canisters opened, scattering a dozen smaller bombs over an area half a mile long and one-eighth of a mile wide. They looked like exploding firecrackers, but their appearance was belied by the piercing whine of

shrapnel flying through the air.

The threat from the air is now the guerrillas' biggest fear.

Even the presence of "Stinger-wallahs," guerrillas who operate Stinger ground-to-air missiles that proved effective in the past against Soviet aircraft, is not enough. By flying high and scattering flares to deceive the heat-seeking missiles, the Afghan jets become difficult targets.

- Sydney Morning Herald - Mujahideen fighting for Jalalabad suggested that the most powerful guerrilla groups to the north, west & south of the city have not yet joined the offensive. In recent weeks mujahideen commanders have had serious disagreements with Pakistanis over how to conduct the battle.

- NYT - Officials said the Bush Administration was considering a formal break in relations with the ROA Gov't but was not yet ready to recognize the rebel gov't-in-exile.



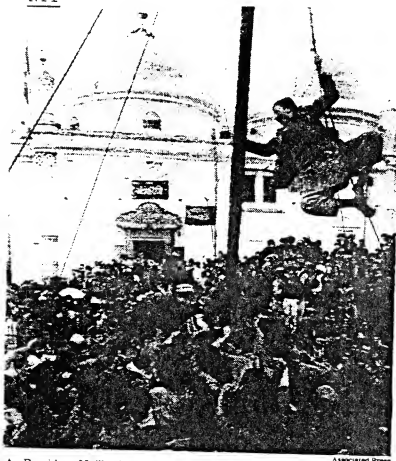
3/20 - BNA - Masona Esmati Wardak, Chmn. of the All-Afghan Women's Council, sent a message asking Benazir Bhutto to use her authority to end the war in Afghanistan.

3/21 - LAT - Somewhere in Afghanistan during the last 2 weeks the USSR & the guerrillas arranged a prisoner exchange. Between 30 & 70 Soviet POWs were exchanged at a ratio of 10 guerrillas for 1 Soviet. (See p. 23)

3/22 - LAT - The guerrillas attacking Jalalabad have been hampered by "poor conditions, equipment unsuitable for a siege, mine fields & bombing," according to analysts. Guerrilla rockets are ineffective against entrenched defenders.

3/22 - BNA- Kabul residents celebrated the New Year yesterday with the traditional peasant's picnic. Other events included a cattle show, dancing & animal fights.

- NYT -



As President Najibullah went on television to appeal for political unity in the face of the guerrilla threat, some aspects of life in Kabul retained the appearance of normalcy this week. On Monday night, Afghans at a mosque celebrated the start of the year 1368 in the Muslim calendar.

3/23 - BNA - Flour, cooking oil & Afs. 150,000, donated by Afghans studying in Soviet Central Asian republics, were distributed to Jalalabad residents.  
- The ROA Foreign Ministry invited the countries which closed their Kabul embassies to reopen them & "thus contribute to the cause of peace." The US was singled out to "take precedence" in sending back its diplomats.

3/24 - NYT - Guerrillas blow up bridge:

Mr. Amani, the Government spokesman, said a bridge east of the town of Sorubi, 45 miles from Kabul, in an area of deep gorges, had been brought down with heavy explosives. But he asserted that a temporary bridge over the Kabul River had been erected, and that military supplies were being re-routed to Jalalabad over three unpaved roads.

Growing guerrilla strength in the Sorubi area would have major implications, since two of the country's largest hydroelectric dams, both supplying Kabul, are near the town.

Mr. Amani dismissed suggestions that guerrillas controlled the area, saying that if they did, the Foreign Ministry briefing room "would be in darkness now." The spokesman said the only fighting along the Jalalabad road was taking place near Tang-i-Gharu, west of Sorubi, in what he called a Government mopping-up operation.

3/24 - NYT - The US thought the Soviets had taken their Scud missiles with them but since Scuds have been used against Jalalabad, the US is reassessing its optimism on the fall of the Kabul Gov't.

3/25 - NYT - India sent 8 tons of food & medicine to Kabul on Thursday. Another shipment is being prepared.

3/26 - LAT - Mujahideen used tanks for the first time against ROA troops at Jalalabad. Civilian reports from that city indicate that a food shortage is becoming desperate.

3/27 - HK Standard - The US has asked the interim gov't to curb the soaring production of opium poppies in the areas of Afghanistan that it controls. Drugs will be a priority item in US dealings with any future Afghan gov't. Two guerrilla leaders promised US Ambassador Oakley that they would issue a religious decree declaring opium production to be both illegal & un-Islamic.

- SCMP - Gulbuddin suffered minor wounds on Saturday when he paid his first visit to the Jalalabad battlefield during a bombing raid. (see 3/28)

3/28 - BNA - ROA "observers are of the opinion that it is beyond imagination that Gulbuddin was injured in the war front."

3/29 - LAT - British Foreign Sec'y Geoffrey Howe, ending a visit to Pakistan, said his country would not recognize the guerrilla gov't, but he promised that Britain would give NGOs ca.\$3m to help Afghan refugees.  
- BNA - The ICRC has sent 5 planes with 17 tons of medical supplies to Kabul.

3/30 - NYT - The USSR & Afghanistan have appealed to the UN to place troops on the Pak-Af border to monitor "cross-border incursions" by Pakistani forces & other alleged Geneva accord violations.

- PT - Khan Abdul Wali Khan, chief of Pakistan's Awami Nat'l Party, wrote Rajiv Gandhi urging him to help solve the Afghan problem. The letter stated that an Afghan broad based gov't should represent all forces inside & outside Afghanistan, including the Najibullah gov't. [Wali Khan wrote similar letters to the Iranians & the Chinese.] (See p. 13)  
- BNA - Najibullah called on opposition leaders to declare cease-fires in areas under their control. He said local commanders could install their own administrations & send representatives to the nat'l assembly. They can form their own parties & organizations which will be recognized officially

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Centre <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	- German Democratic Republic
ICRC	- Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- <u>Non Governmental Organization</u>
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNGOMAP	- United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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